

A N 1508 / 1303
HISTORICAL MEMORIAL
OF THE
Most Remarkable Proceedings
Against the
PROTESTANTS in FRANCE,
From the Year 1744 to 1751.

Translated from the *French* Original, printed at *Amsterdam*.

WITH AN
APPENDIX.

Containing, A Letter from *Nîmes* in *Languedoc*, dated
May 10, 1752, giving an Account of the Seizure,
Imprisonment, and Execution of Mr. *Benezet*, &c.



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P R E F A C E.

THE following Memorial is, in the original, annexed to “ the French “ impartial patriot’s answer to the bishop “ of Agen’s letter against the toleration “ of the Hugonots.”

This piece has been well received both in Germany and Holland; and we doubt not but that the part which we have *chosen* to translate, will meet with as favourable a reception in Ireland. If the reason of that choice be inquired into, we can say that we were led to make it, by the preference which the world generally gives to plain facts, before subtle arguments and florid declamation. But farther, we considered the Memorial, and would presume to recommend it, as a proper supplement to an excellent and useful tract, entitled *Popery always the same*, which was published by the *Society for promoting Christian*

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stian knowledge in the year 1745. It is true, indeed, that some papers and letters are quoted in both these pieces, but they are not quoted in the same order: it is true also, that both have related some of the principal facts; but the circumstances of those facts differ in length and number; in general they are enlarged and multiplied in the Memorial. We hope, however, that this partial similitude will be considered rather as an addition of weight to the evidence in favour of those papers and facts; at least, that it will not be urged as an objection to our fidelity in translating the original as we found it.

In the Appendix, we have endeavoured to illustrate the Memorial, and also to give some account of the *present state* of the Protestants in France, by collecting together as many papers and letters for those purposes as we had reason to believe were authentic; for which we are principally indebted to a worthy Clergyman. The French king's ordonnance of January 1750, we thought

a proper piece to connect with this work, as, perhaps, the revival of the persecution in its utmost rigour may be dated from it; and we have presumed to make use of the translation which has been given by that excellent prelate, and zealous advocate for the liberty, health, and happiness of his fellow-creatures, the Bishop of Worcester.

Upon the whole; Protestants in general will learn, from the various instances of oppression contained in this Memorial, the danger of that security into which they sometimes suffer themselves to be lulled by the sophistry of the sons of Rome; and that, as it has been formerly, so it is now, and ever will be, the spirit and essence of Popery, to be cruel and persecuting. And the Protestants of this kingdom in particular will learn from the numerous examples of integrity set before them, to place a just value upon their own excellent constitution in church and state, that has effectually secured those rights of conscience, for the sake of which
their

their brethren have left their habitations, their employments, their country, and sacrificed even life itself. God grant that the conviction of their virtue may prompt us to contribute liberally to the alleviation of their distress.



AN

A N
HISTORICAL MEMORIAL
OF THE
Most Remarkable PROCEEDINGS
AGAINST THE

PROTESTANTS of FRANCE,

From the Year 1744 to 1751.

THE design of this memorial is to give the public a view of the deplorable condition of the Protestants of France, who suffer for no other crime than a strict adherence to a religion, which they believe to be the institution of God, and in which alone they are persuaded they can work out their salvation.

It would be endless to relate all the miseries of this unhappy people since the revocation of the edict of Nants: several volumes could not contain them. We shall therefore go no higher than the year 1744; and, for the sake of order and method, this memorial is divided into nine articles:

The various calumnies which have been invented against the Protestants, in order to draw upon them the severest chastisements: The carrying off their children; and the evils which those fathers are exposed to, whose children elude the search, or escape out of the religious houses in which they are confined: The persecutions raised against them for christenings and marriages celebrated by their own ministers: The various ways of punishing them, on account of the assemblies held for divine service: Instances of the troops firing into several of their meetings, and insulting and wounding the people: The seizing of Protestant books, and the pecuniary, defamatory, afflictive, and capital penalties de-

creed against the owners of such books : The execution of several of their ministers, both in person and effigy : The murders and massacres committed in divers places : And the exhumation of dead bodies, and the barbarous insults offered them.

These are the subjects of this memorial, each of which shall be treated distinctly, but with all possible brevity ; because my design is not to relate every event, but only to give a general idea of the deplorable condition to which the Protestants of that kingdom are reduced.

ARTICLE I.

The calumnies invented to blacken the Protestants.

THESE calumnies have multiplied to excess, and every body has thought himself well warranted to forge some accusation : But the * curates have been the most forward and busy in these infamous practices. Let us therefore begin with them.---

One of them, whose parish lies in the Cevennes, accused his parishioners of having fired several musket-shot after him, and wounded him in the legs. His parishioners demanded to have him visited, and that the stockings he wore on the day he mentioned should also be inspected. M. de St. Marcel, who commands for the King at St. Andrew de Valborgne, condescended at their instance to send for the curate, who had impudence enough to appear, and maintain what he had advanced ; but being obliged to shew his legs bare, and the stockings he wore the day he said he had been wounded, he was convicted of imposture : His legs had not so much as a scratch, and his stockings were whole. This happened in 1744.

In the year 1748, the curate of Beaumont in Dauphiny charged the Protestants of his parish with having attempted to assassinate him, and with hindering him from celebrating mass ; and upon this he himself drew up a verbal process, which he was audacious enough to produce. His parishioners desired that the most exact informations might be taken in this affair : The judge criminal of Valence yielded to their

* A curate, in France is the same in a parish as our parsons or rectors in Ireland ; and what they call a vicar is the curate's substitute or deputy.



their earnest entreaties ; he took cognizance of the fact, and the priest's verbal process was proved to be a forgery. The priest could not dispute it, but excused himself by laying the blame on the prior of Montelimard, who, he said, had put him upon it. This apology was accepted as valid ; and the infamous calumny, which would have exposed the Protestants of Beaumont to severe penalties, if it had not been detected, brought no other punishment on the curate than the mortifying confession he was obliged to make of his Villainy.

In the month of April 1749, one Meynard, a widow, and Paul Meynard her son, aged about fifty, died at Merindol in Provence ; and both were buried silently, in the night of the same day on which they died ; But all precautions were fruitless against the virulence of calumny. One Lombard, curate of that place, who had long been on the watch for mischief, seized the opportunity, ran to his ordinary, the bishop of Cavaillon, and told him the following story, viz. That the funeral convoy of the mother and the son had been made with all the apparatus and all the eclat of rebellion ; that the minister of the Hugonots walked before it in a black gown ; and that, to insult the Catholics, they marched in procession three times round the parochial church. The prelate believed all, and wrote about it to the higher powers. Happily for the Protestants of Merindol, a judicial inquiry into the affair was ordered to be made ; and M. Esmioli, lieutenant-criminal of the city of Aix, the substitute of the king's attorney, attended by a register and tipstaff, all authorized by the parliament of Aix, repaired to the spot, took informations, and drew up verbal processes : But the more they inquired, the more matter they found to convict the priest of calumny. Nevertheless, James Meynard, son of the deceased widow, John Bouvier, a burgher, and Paul Maynard a woollen manufacturer, who had been taken up before the inquiries were made, remained a long while in prison ; the two former a whole year, and the other at least eighteen months : but the curate was never punished.

The 21st of December 1745, the curate of Boffre in Vivarais, whose name is Bouchet, assisted by Bioussier his schoolmaster, formed and executed the black design of conveying away the sacred vessels of his church, tearing the ornaments and vestments, hewing in pieces the altar, and setting fire to whatever was combustible in a place so highly to be respected by a priest ; and then to charge these sacrileges upon the

the Protestants of his parish, and the places adjacent. When all was ready, the schoolmaster began to raise the neighbours, crying out that the Protestants had set the church on fire, that above fourscore of them were in pursuit of the curate to kill him, and perhaps had already dispatched him with their daggers.

Upon this outcry in the dead of the night, the whole town was in confusion : some ran to save the church, and some posted away to Vernoux for assistance. When the troops arrived, the commanding officer interrogated the schoolmaster, who still affirmed that the priest was fled, and that upwards of fourscore Hugonots were in pursuit of him. The officer inquired which way they were gone, and the schoolmaster named the first road that came into his head. A party of soldiers were sent that way, but found nothing. The officer then began to suspect knavery in the schoolmaster's account ; he drew up a verbal process of the affair, and wrote to M. de Chateauneuf, commandant at Tournon, that there was no probability that the new converts had set fire to the church, or pursued the curate.

In the mean while the Protestants of the place kept guard round about the church.

The curate, enraged that no credit was given to his schoolmaster's story, after having passed the night at St. Sylvester, posted away to Vernoux, with the Sieur Afforty, judge of Boffre, whom he had prevailed upon to go with him ; and caused the Protestants that mounted guard about the church to be disarmed, and one of them, named Dejours, to be committed to prison.

However, the Protestants of Boffre, being sensible how much it behoved them to wipe off the horrid calumny with which the curate had blackened them, took as many informations as they could against the real authors of the fire and the sacrilege. The priest hearing of this, sent them word not to meddle in such affairs, lest they should come into farther trouble.

But the consciousness of their innocence made them despise his menaces : they summoned the schoolmaster, before M. de la Deveze, who commanded in the province in the duke de Richelieu's absence. This commandant also interrogated the schoolmaster, who still persevered in affirming that the Hugonots had set fire to the church, and that they had pursued his curate to murder him.

The

The schoolmaster was dismissed, but cared not for returning to Boffre: He apprehended that soon or late his crime would come to light, and bring him to a bad end. The curate to whom he revealed his uneasiness, endeavoured to dissipate his fears, by assuring him that he would extricate him out of any dangers and difficulties he might be exposed to.

In the mean time the suspicions that these two men were the real authors of the sacrilege and of the fire, encreased daily, and grew so strong, that the Protestants of Boffre, backed by some Catholic gentlemen of probity got the schoolmaster confined, and a commission appointed to discover the authors of the crime. The moment the curate was apprized of this, he left no stone unturned to procure the enlargement of his schoolmaster, and to prevent the commission's taking place; but all his solicitations proved fruitless.

The schoolmaster was brought before the commissary appointed by M. de la Deveze, and divers questions were put to him, tending to entrap him into a confession of the truth; but the hour of discovery was not yet come. He persisted in his former answers, and denied that the church was fired by any but the Hugonots; and so they recommitted him for farther examination.

At last, overcome with remorse, he desired to be brought again before the commissary; saying he would tell the truth, and give ease to his wounded conscience. Then he declar'd, 'That his curate, holding a pistol at his breast, forced him to set fire to the church, and to do all that he had done on this occasion: that the curate himself got upon the altar with a hatchet, and hewed it in pieces; and that he threw the holy vessels into a cistern.' in which cistern, after diligent search according to the directions then given by the schoolmaster, they were found in November 1746.

Upon this the curate caused counter informations to be made by the Sieur Afforty, judge of the place he also demanded a replevy of his effects, which the Protestants had sequestered, and even attempted to get them carried off forcibly, by a party of Marshalsea-men that were devoted to him: But all his art and labour proved fruitless.

The schoolmaster was removed to the prison of Tournon, at the charge of the Protestants, by order of M. de Chateaufneuf, where he remained about a year, and lived all that time at the expence of those whom he had sought to destroy.

When the informations were ready to be exhibited, they were sent up to Paris; and the affair was kept so secret, that the

the Protestants heard no more of it, till the curate was taken up in the church of St. Didier the 15th of May 1746, by some horsemen of the Marshalsea, and carried to Breſcou.

Such was the issue of this infernal plot against the Protestants of Boffre and that Neighbourhood: And such was the gentle punishment of an incendiary and sacrilegious priest, who had done his utmost to expose a great number of innocent people to the most cruel deaths.

In 1750, Antonietta Vernhet, a native of St. Leons, within two leagues of Milhaud in Rouergue, being suborned and instigated by some enemy of the Protestants, did on the 14th of January in the night steal out of the church of Milhaud the great pyx and some hosts (consecrated wafers) and accused the Protestants of the place of the theft; adding to her accusation, that several meetings had been held at Milhaud, and that if they had a mind to be convinced of the truth of what she said, they need only go directly to the church, where they would see that the pyx and the hosts were missing, that to the House of Mr. Cingla, where they would find above forty persons assembled, with one Mestres, a tradesman of Montpellier, who performed the functions of a preacher. Upon this denunciation the Vicars of Milhaud, to whom it was made, ran to the church and saw that the pyx was missing; that the hosts had been taken out of the tabernacle; and that out of fifty which were in the lesser pyx, only six remained. Surprized and shocked at the sacrilege, they rang the alarm bell; a crowd gathered about them, and diligent search was made, but neither pyx nor hosts could be found. Then they ran to M. Podejac, commissary at war and the intendant's subdelegate, and prayed him to examine the girl. He complied with their request, and asked her how she came to know that the pyx and hosts had been stolen? she answered with a firm voice and steady countenance, that having met the Sieur Mestres at Milhaud, in whose house she had lived at Montpellier, and who took her for a Hugonot, he desired her to step to Mr. Reynaldi's house, where he wanted to discourse with her: That she went thither, and was there told, that an assembly was to be held that evening at the house of Mr. Cingla an advocate, that she might come to it if she pleased: That she did go, and found in a handsomely furnished room about fifty persons assembled round a table, spread with very fine linnen, on which stood a pyx, wherein she perceived some hosts: That she was extremely surprized at this, as she knew not the Hugonots received the communion

nion in both kinds: That she expressed her surprise, and was answered that bread or wafers was the same thing to them: That the *Sieur Mestre* put on a black gown, a long band, and a square cap, to perform the ceremony: And that as she had heard the *Sieur Reynaldi* say that they had left at the church no more than six hosts in a little pyx, she wanted to withdraw, and they caused her to be followed by one *Lapierre*, a servant of the *Sieur Mestre*, whom she shook off in order to come immediately with her information. The subdelegate then asked her the names of the persons at that meeting; and she answered, that, besides the master of the house, she knew the *Sieur Bonnafoux* and his wife, and *Messrs. Reynaldi* and *Lauret*; but as for the others, she knew them only by sight. The subdelegate began to suspect deceit, and contented himself with investing the house with a party of archers, and ordering the commanding officer to stand at the door, and watch every body that went in and out; after which he withdrew. In a few minutes the officer seeing one *Bourlé*, a Catholic, coming out of the house, he stopped and examined him, and learned, that instead of a meeting, there was nobody in the house but the *Sieur Cingla* and *M. Sarret*, bailiff, judge, and mayor of the town, who were sitting up together. The officer imparted the discovery to *M. de Podejac*, who again examined the girl, and told her, that having ordered the house to be searched, they had found nothing in it like a meeting. But this did not disconcert her; she answered without the least hesitation, that she was not surprized at it: That the noise made by the vicars in ringing the alarm bell must naturally have made the assembly conclude they were discovered, and therefore they had no other course to take but to break up and disperse immediately. This answer being delivered with great calmness and assurance, made an impression, and seemed to dispel all suspicions of fraud. The subdelegate, being an upright, prudent man, resolved to find out the truth; he set a spy upon the young woman, and made all the necessary inquiries to come at the bottom of the affair. All circumstances concurred in satisfying him that she was an infamous slanderer; that there was no meeting at the house in question; that the *Sieur Mestre* and his valet were fictitious persons; that the *Sieur Bonnafoux* did not stir out of his house that day, and had taken physic; that he was sitting up that night with his wife and *Camron*, an apothecary of *Milhaud* and a roman catholic; that the *Sieur Lauret*, another of the parties ac-

cused

cused, had supped and spent the evening with Messrs Alric, Boyer, and Molenier, all three zealous catholics; and that the Sieur Reynaldi, who was supposed to have stolen the pyx and the hosts, had also spent the evening in very honest company at Mr. Galli's house, where they play'd at quadrille. So many proofs detected the imposture, and confounded the slanderous informer. But what became of her? she called for a confessor, and the pyx appeared again in the tabernacle. How it was brought back, no body knows. But the punishment inflicted on the vile wretch, who had contrived to ruin so many innocent people, was only a few months imprisonment.

In the year 1742 a rumour was spread, that the Hugonots of the Cevennes had taken up arms. When the news was brought to court, the duke de Richelieu was ordered to repair thither. He visited all the suspected places, and found no signs of an insurrection; all the Hugonots were peaceable and dutiful. The coiners of this false intelligence, were two catholics of a place called des Vans; and they were punished for it, by one or two months imprisonment.

In 1745 it was reported, that the Hugonots in the neighbourhood of Montauban had also taken up arms: that they were 8500 strong, headed by the Sieur de Larmiquiere, a man experienced in the art of war: that they designed to lay siege to the tower of Toulouze, where some of their brethren were confined: that the plot would have succeeded, had not too many been let into the secret: that their chief, having been informed that two regiments of dragoons and two of infantry were coming against him, concealed part of his troops in the woods, and caused the rest to defile leisurely, so as to put his enemy between two fires, in which he perfectly succeeded: that the king's troops having descried them at sun-rising, hastened to come up with them; and that the Hugonots feigning to be spent with fatigue, marched very slow, until they reached Miriganti, where part of their troops lay in ambush: that when the dragoons were come within two musket shot, they found themselves invested on three sides, and at the same time heard a multitude of voices singing the 91st psalm with so serene a countenance, that they were not a little disconcerted at it: that after an engagement of two hours the Hugonots carried off the horses of the dragoons, and that the Sieur de Larmiquiere pursued the few troops that were left, &c. Now, what could be intended by this groundless story, which quickly flew to all

all parts of Europe, but to render the Protestants odious and not only expose them to the government's immediate resentment, but also occasion a revival of those antient arrests, *which authorized the people, upon the ringing of the alarm-bell, to set upon their fellow subjects, and shew them no more mercy than they would to mad dogs and wolves**.

In the month of June 1744, positive information was given to the court, that the minister Roger, at a meeting held the 7th of the same month, had read to his congregation a piece in the form of an edict of toleration, which he said came from the king, and was signed with his own hand. This false intelligence occasioned the following letter, which the king, who was then in the camp before Ypres, ordered M. d'Argenson to write to M. de Piolenc, first president of the parliament of Grenoble.

SIR,

THE king is informed that on the 7th of this month, one Roger, a preacher, having assembled divers Protestants at Poujols in the district of Diois, read to them a pretended edict, or indulto, dated the 7th of May, and sealed with a seal which he assured them was his majesty's, whereby it appeared that he granted his subjects liberty of conscience, and permission to assemble themselves. As that piece is absolutely false and suppositious, and as the king never did intend to derogate from the laws made concerning these matters by the late king his great grand father and by himself, his majesty's intention is, that you undeceive the people, and efface the impression which that piece may have made; and that in exposing the imposture of the preacher, you make them sensible of the risque they run in delivering themselves up to the guidance of such pastors. To this end his majesty permits you to print this letter, and disperse it wheresoever you shall think proper. He also desires you to prosecute the said Roger according to law, that such an example may be made of him as the importance of the case requires.

The president obeyed, printed and published the letter, proceeded judicially towards verifying the accusation, and found nothing but what proved the innocence of the parties accused. The minister Roger on this occasion wrote a letter to Mr. d'Argenson, the substance of which is as follows.

‘ That

* Maimb. hist. of Calv. Vol. II. p. 53, 54.

' That he was persuaded the proceedings against him at
 ' Grenoble in consequence of his orders, fully cleared him
 ' of the charge of having publickly read a pretended edict of
 ' his majesty: That nevertheless he thought so heinous a
 ' calumny required him to declare in the most explicit man-
 ' ner, that if such a forged piece had been found, he was
 ' not the author of it; that he never read it in private, nor
 ' at the meetings; that he had not even seen it, nor ever
 ' heard of it till his lordship's letter on this subject was pub-
 ' lished. That he was sensible every species of forgery was
 ' a crime deserving the severest chastizement; but counter-
 ' feiting the prince's seal, was treason of the second degree.
 ' That, as a christian, he abhorred a lye; as a subject, he
 ' respected all the orders of his sovereign; and as a pastor,
 ' he inspired his flock with the same abhorrence of every
 ' thing that was repugnant to truth, and the same respect for
 ' the royal authority. That however ardently the Protest-
 ' ants in general might wish for liberty of conscience, and
 ' how natural and lawful soever they might think such a wish,
 ' they could assure his lordship it would never impare in the
 ' least their loyalty to their august monarch: That they
 ' waited for this precious liberty with perfect resignation, de-
 ' manding it only by prayers and tears, and hoping to obtain
 ' it merely as the reward of their entire resignation to his
 ' commands in all temporal matters, and of their readiness
 ' to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for his service: that they
 ' owed him this submission and this sacrifice on a religious
 ' principle; but that the quality of father of his people,
 ' which he was so justly intitled to, secured him a voluntary
 ' homage in their hearts, so much the more glorious to him
 ' as he was indebted for it to none but himself. That if any
 ' piece, or any act, inconsistent with these principles, was
 ' attributed to them, as had been too often done, his lord-
 ' ship might conclude it was the contrivance of slanderers.
 ' That the authors of these calumnies blackened them with
 ' a view to render them odious and unworthy of his ma-
 ' jesty's protection; but that this was not the only motive of
 ' the person that had accused him (Roger) of having read a
 ' forged edict for liberty of conscience: That his malignity
 ' had suggested to him to discover, by this vile method, how
 ' his majesty stood affected in regard to the exercise of their
 ' religion: That though his malice had been gratified in this
 ' last respect, he (Roger) hoped he would not long enjoy
 ' his triumph, seeing his lordship had found him a slanderer;

' and

• and that when his innocence should appear on the trial for
• the heinous crime laid to his charge, his lordship would
• do justice both to the accuser and the accused.’

This minister ought in effect to have appeared entirely innocent to the parliament of Grenoble; for having been taken up some time after, and tried before the parliament, they passed sentence of death upon him, only for having been convicted of performing the functions of preacher in divers assemblies of Protestants, and in divers parts of the province, but said not a word about the pretended crime publicly laid to his charge.

This did not secure the Protestants from being very soon after accused of coining new edicts and new letters; which pieces the curates of Dauphiny dispersed among the inhabitants, and the bishop of Valence countenanced the imposture in his pastoral letters. Whereupon the Protestants published apologies, in which they inserted these forged letters, being persuaded that the bare inspection of such works of darkness would be sufficient to discover the source and design of them, and shew the world it was not among them, nor among their ministers, that the government ought to look for the authors.

Here follow the pieces, just as they were published and dispersed by the curates of Dauphiny. They suppose that the king, when lying dangerously ill at Metz, committed the regency of the kingdom to the Dauphin, who then gave audience to the deputies of the Hugonots, and, on their remonstrances, granted them an edict for the exercise of their religion.

DECREE of Louis XV.

LOUIS, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, &c. Whereas it is expedient to provide for the government of my kingdom during my present inability to attend it, I have judged it necessary to commit the regency thereof to our most dear and well-beloved son, the Dauphin, to the end that he may have all the jurisdiction and royal authority to me belonging; promising myself, from his great virtues, that he will administer justice to our faithful subjects. For which causes, and that credit may be given to the resolution I have taken on this head, I have ordered the sieur d'Argenson, minister and secretary of state, to send, wherever it shall be

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‘ needful

needful in my kingdom, copies of the present decree. Given at Metz the 15th of August, 1744.

M. d'Argenson's LETTER.

BY the king's order, We le Voyer d'Argenson, minister and secretary of state, give notice, that in consequence of this decree, his royal highness the Dauphin has begun to sign all dispatches, and to give audience to the ambassadors, to the noblesse, and to the people, according to the ceremonial observed at court.

The Dauphin's EDICT.

LOUIS, Dauphin of France, to all who shall see these presents greeting. In consequence of the power and government which the king, our most honoured lord and father, has committed to us by his letters patent given at Metz the 15th of August last, signed *Louis*, and underneath *Le Voyer d'Argenson* secretary and minister of state, of which a copy is above seen; having heard the report made to us by the deputies of the people of the pretended reformed religion in the kingdom, and namely of the provinces of Languedoc, Vivarais, and Dauphiny, concerning the exercise of the religion professed by the pretended reformed, who have respectfully represented to us, by the said deputies, the troubles that reign in the kingdom, and the apprehensions they are under of being rigorously treated by the parliaments of Montauban and Grenoble, from the inquiries and informations daily made against them, and fearing to suffer the penalties by them incurred, pursuant to the declarations issued on this subject by our great grand father, and namely by our most honoured father and king the 14th of May 1724, from which we expressly declare we do derogate; and in consequence, and by the power which our said father and king has committed to us, we permit all those of the pretended reformed religion in the kingdom, provinces and dependencies, to continue the exercise of their religion in all points, imposing silence for this cause upon the said courts and their attorneys general, and ordering the *Sieur d'Argenson* speedily to dispatch copies of the present regulation to all the provinces where needful.

Given at Versailles the 20th September 1744.

Signed *Louis*, Dauphin of France.

These

These are the pieces which the bishop of Valence had in his eye in his pastoral letter of the 10th February 1746, in which, after having said that the protestant ministers, whom he calls *sons of darkness*, ' had proclaimed on the house-top what they only whispered before ; that by vain hopes of an approaching restoration of liberty of conscience, they had kindled a most violent desire of it ; he adds, that, in order to gain more credit, they did not blush to forge letters under the most respectable names, and disperse them with great ostentation.' And it was in consequence of such assertions in printed pieces dispersed all over the kingdom, that the Protestants found themselves forced to bring to light those works, in which imposture, calumny, and a design to destroy them, are so glaring.

In the month of August 1744, another forged piece was dispersed in Languedoc, in every respect as much calculated to expose them to the government's utmost rigour : This was intituled a *NEW CANTICLE, for begging a blessing, in their meetings, on the British arms* ; the substance of which (for it is too paltry to deserve either a literal or a poetical translation) is, that the lord of hosts would be pleased to give victory to the defender of the faith, and enable him to break the chains of the Protestants of France ; that he would make the sea calm for the English, and disperse the French fleets by tempests ; and that he would blind the eyes and damp the courage of the troops along the coasts, that their deliverers might safely land, and become the scourge of the Papists of France, and the restorers of Protestantism : All which if God would grant them, they promised to build temples for the honour of his name, on the ruins of the Romish churches.

It was easy to conceive, that to ascribe such a piece to the Protestants, and accuse them of making it a part of their devotions either publick or private, must render them extremely criminal, and liable to the severest chastisements. They understood it in this light, and lost no time in protesting against it, in order to ward off the blow which it aimed at them. For this purpose they wrote to M. de la Deveze, who commanded in Languedoc in the Duke de Richelieu's absence : But how great was their surprize, when they heard the duke being come to assemble the states of the province, had brought them a copy of this canticle : By this they perceived that their Letter to M. de la Deveze had not had the effect they promised themselves, and were not less sensible of

the necessity they were under to persuade the duke of their innocence, and prove that the canticle attributed to them was an arrant forgery, contrived only for their destruction. With this view they wrote him the following letter, dated December 2, 1744.

My Lord,

‘ **I**T is very deplorable for the Protestants to have the
 ‘ most horrid crimes laid to their charge, and not dare
 ‘ to complain, nor demand justice against the calumniators.
 ‘ We are not surprized at the dark machinations of our e-
 ‘ nemies to destroy us. How should they spare us, since a
 ‘ nobleman as respectable by his merit as his birth and rank,
 ‘ is not screened from their rash reflections?

‘ It was in the month of August last the infamous canti-
 ‘ cle ascribed to us, came out; and though so gross a calum-
 ‘ ny seemed to deserve no other notice than utter contempt,
 ‘ we thought it was our duty to write about it to M. de la
 ‘ Dèveze, who commanded in your absence in this province:
 ‘ Accordingly we sent him a letter dated the 21st of the same
 ‘ month; and upon a presumption that that letter would be
 ‘ communicated to your excellency, we made ourselves easy.

‘ This is not the first instance of our enemies having
 ‘ blackened us, in order to render us odious. It is some years
 ‘ since the priest of Bouquet in the diocese of Uzes was mur-
 ‘ dered: they did not fail to lay it upon the Protestants of
 ‘ the place, and even committed some of them to prison;
 ‘ but when the affair came to a tryal, it was proved that the
 ‘ assassins were catholics. You may easily recollect, my
 ‘ lord, that it is not very long since the Protestants of the Ce-
 ‘ vennes were accused of revolting. Your excellency made
 ‘ the necessary inquiries on that occasion, and found them in-
 ‘ nocent. Those calumnies not having had the expected suc-
 ‘ cess, our enemies returned to the charge with new slan-
 ‘ ders; but we hope the truth will come to light, and that
 ‘ they shall no longer triumph over our innocence.

‘ We swear, my lord, we protest to you in presence of
 ‘ the great searcher of hearts, who will one day punish the
 ‘ perjured and the hypocrites, that the execrable canticle at-
 ‘ tributed to the Protestants has not been forged among
 ‘ them. Their religion recommends nothing more strenuou-
 ‘ ly than obedience and fidelity to the sovereign. In the
 ‘ discourses we make to our People we often insist on this
 ‘ article, as may be attested by a considerable number of Ca-
 ‘ tholics,

‘ Catholics, whose curiosity has led them to our religious Assemblies: they can tell whether they ever heard such a canticle sung amongst us, or whether we do any thing inconsistent with the good of the state. They have been witnesses of our fervent prayers to the king of kings for our august sovereign, for the queen, the dauphin, and all the royal family; as also for all the nobility and magistrates of the kingdom, and for your excellency in particular.

‘ It would not be difficult to discover the author of the odious canticle in question; but, my lord, the Protestants being destitute of every kind of authority, cannot make any legal inquiries into this matter. Common fame points at a Catholic as the author; a priest of the city of Nîmes has dispersed copies of it publicly enough. M. Le Brun, commandant of the town Alais, not long since apprehended a Catholic that was singing it. If your excellency would appoint a commissary, we dare say his enquiries would not be fruitless, and the innocence of the Protestants would become more manifest.

‘ It is impossible, my lord, to express how much we are grieved to find ourselves unable to make our august monarch acquainted with our sentiments. O, that he could see into our hearts! there he would find engraved, in characters indelible, the most profound respect, the most ardent affection for his sacred person, and a loyalty that will stand any test. If we have religious meetings, they are not held in contempt of his majesty’s orders, nor to cabal against the state: we assemble only, as God is Witness, to obey the dictates of conscience, to pay our homage to the Almighty in the manner we judge most agreeable to him, to be instructed in our duties, and to excite one another to practise them. And this, far from being inconsistent with the good of the state, seems to us the most solid foundation of it.

‘ We hope that your excellency’s humanity, which is so highly and so justly extolled, will induce you to excuse the liberty we take, and do justice to our innocence.

‘ Favourite of a king whom we tenderly love, and for whose service we are ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes, vouchsafe to speak a word to him on our behalf!

ARTICLE II.

The capture of children; and the manner in which the government proceeds against the fathers of such children as cannot be found, or escape out of confinement.

EV E R since the revocation of the edict of Nants these captures have been continued in all the provinces; but of late years Poitou, the upper and lower Languedoc, the Vivarais, and Normandy, seem to have furnished more examples of them than the other provinces. I shall confine myself to some instances in the lower Normandy, the list of which is as follows:

List of children taken from their parents in Normandy.

Dates.	Names.	Age.	Place of abode.
1746. Mar.	{ Anna Michaela Morin	14	Caen.
11	{ M. Johanna Margaret, her sister	13	
July 5.	{ Martha de la Barre du Bois	19	St. Lo.
	{ Frances and ———	18	
	{ Joan, her Sisters ———	12	LaGuenoniere.
	{ Mary Harivel ———	13	
	{ Magdalen, her sister ———	11	
1748. Oct.	{ James Vardon ———	13	Parish of Athis.
	{ Anne, his sister ———	10	
	{ John, son of Robert le Baliff,	11	La Morinay.
	{ and;		
	{ James, his brother	8	Vieux Hetre.
	{ Anne Lucas ———	11	
	{ Catherine, her sister	10	La Reberis.
	{ N. daughter of Peter Mar- chand ———	16	
Oct. 31.	{ Catherine Chauffret	8	La Buneliere.
	{ Margaret de Lecluse	14	Marigni.
	{ Anne Charlotte de Lecluse	10	
Nov. 1.	{ Henry Roux ———	14	Chefrene.
	{ John, his brother, and	12	
	{ Mary, their sister	10	St. Ebreumont.
— 31	{ Lewis du Hamel	15	
	{ John his brother, and	11	A parish near Alençon.
1749. Jan. 9.	{ Catherine, their sister	12	
	{ Lucas ———	14	Caen.
Feb. 4.	{ John Paifan ———	13	

Anne

Dates.	Names.	Age.	Place of abode.
1750. Jan.	{ Anne Boine	10	{ St. Honorine la
20	{ Mary le Ballif	6	{ Chardonne.
	{ James Lewis Francis Dagneaux	9	{ Lauteloie.
Feb. 13.	{ Mary, his sister	8	{ Deujumeau.
	{ Sufanna du Hamel	—	{ Bellesme.

To form a just idea of the manner in which these captures were made in Normandy, we must figure to ourselves cohorts of archers headed by divers curates, among whom were the *Sieur Houvet*, priest of the parish of *Athis*, and *Mess. Verger and Grenier*, his vicars, who flew from parish to parish; besetting houses in the dead of night, with hideous outcries awaking the people out of their sleep, thundering at their doors, and breaking down with hatchets those that were not immediately opened. In this manner was the door of *Peter Marchand*, *alias La Fosse*, dealer in granadoes, broke open by the curate *Houvet*. Behold them rushing into the houses, with swords in their hands, and blasphemy in their mouths, searching every hole and corner, and throwing all things into confusion, until they had found the prey that was the object of so much violence, and has been the cause of such floods of tears; the prey, which they frequently carried off almost naked, without being moved in the least by outcries, piercing enough to make the fiercest savages relent; while the unhappy fathers and mothers (who, seeing the dearest things in the world torn from them, forgot the danger, and prompted by rage and despair, strove to rescue their offspring out of the hands of these ministers of persecution) were insulted, repulsed, and cruelly beaten. It was here that we might see those dismal scenes acted over again, which a bishop has so strongly painted in his account of the edict of *Immanuel II.* king of Portugal, by which all the male children of the Jews under fourteen years old, were ordered to be taken from their parents, and brought up in the christian faith. The reverend historian, having first observed, that this method, in the execution, was iniquitous and unjust, being warranted neither by law nor religion, though it seemed to proceed from a good intention, and had an appearance of piety, proceeds thus: 'It was a shocking spectacle to behold infants snatched from the mothers breast, and children torn from the arms of their fathers, who were beaten with clubs to make them let go their hold; while the shouts of the soldiers struck terror all around, and the shrieks of the women pierced the skies.'

These captures threw the Protestants of Normandy into such a consternation, that upwards of six hundred immediately went off to foreign Parts with as much money and effects as they could collect together.

Though this method of bringing children into the pale of the church may seem laudable in the intention, it appears quite otherwise in the execution. The Protestants represented, long ago, that it deprived nature of its privileges, offered violence to the consciences of men, was repugnant to the principles of the civil and canon laws, and an infringement upon the constant and ordinary rules of parliaments; that it also deprived religion of the glory of keeping equitable measures, agreeable to the practice of the ancient church, and furnished foreign nations with an example which might be of dangerous consequence. They observed, that the natural rights of mankind were invaded in the most tender point, by forcing children from the arms of their parents, at those years which are the fittest for receiving instruction: that the conscience was thereby disturbed in the most cruel manner, as the paternal authority is one of the most indispensable duties, which conscience is to give an account of to God, parents being accountable to him for all that their children do till they come to years of discretion: that it was repugnant to the civil and canon laws; for if children have a right, before the age of puberty to make choice of a religion, which is the most important act in life, why may they not as well be allowed to make a will, give evidence in any case before a court of judicature, make vows, or transact any other business? That by this the constant and ordinary rules of the parliaments, which have always exempted children from capital penalties, will be abolished; for by rendering children capable of changing their religion, they are at the same time made capable of falling into the crime of those that are stiled relapsers, and consequently liable to the capital penalties enacted in the ordinances against a relapse: that the romish religion is deprived of the glory of keeping equitable measures, agreeable to the practice of the antient church, since she gives room for saying, that she accepts of conversions at an age when reason has no solidity, and judgment is wavering, and, consequently, when a change of religion cannot proceed from a lawful or an honourable choice, in which she manifestly deviates from the practice of the christian church: for supposing the Protestants to be heretics, it is certain that the ancient church never deprived infidel parents that
lived

lived in the same civil society, of their children under the age of puberty. In short, that by this method an example of dangerous consequence was set to foreign nations both christians and infidels, who might from thence think themselves well warranted to practice the same with all who are not of their religion. To which it may be added, that the pensions which the parents are obliged to pay for the maintenance of their children, prove the ruin of many families. And thus, by a sad inversion of the order of nature, those who were born to be the props of a house, are made the instruments to pull it down: for, admitting that those pensions were exacted proportionably to the estate or income of the parents, it is easy to be conceived that a father who decently maintains his children while they live under his own roof, and eat at the same table, cannot subsist them seperately without diminishing his fortune. I know many instances of fathers being quite ruined in this manner, or reduced so low, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could raise money enough to pay their taxes to the government.

I come now to consider a severer hardship imposed upon those unhappy parents; and that is, their being made answerable for their children's eluding the search, or escaping out of the convents and other houses where they are confined till the time of conversion: And here I could produce long lists of fathers fined or imprisoned on this account; but shall confine myself to two instances, the one of Mr Lucas who resided near Alençon, the other of Mr. Empetat who lived in the neighbourhood of Die.

One of Lucas's children was taken up the 19th of January 1749, being then twelve years old, and sent to the house of the new catholics at Alençon, from whence he found means to escape the 5th of April following. The news of this escape no sooner reached the intendant than he ordered the father to be taken into custody. The archers accordingly posted away to Lucas's house, searched every hole and corner of it, and not finding him, broke all his goods in pieces, and divided among them four hundred livres that were found in his buroe. At last Lucas was discovered in the quarries of Ranville on the river of Caen, whither he had fled, as well to escape the archers who were constantly looking out for him, as to earn a scanty subsistence: He was taken on the 22d of May, and carried to Alençon jail. Being examined in regard to his son, he answered, that he knew not where he was; upon a second examination, his answer was the same; and we are well assured, that he spoke nothing but the truth:

Never-

Nevertheless, poor Lucas was thrown into a dungeon, where he has remained ever since, his wretched family all the while wandering from place to place, and begging their bread.

Among the many children whom the bishop of Die caused to be carried off from their parents, there was one of twelve years of age, who in the beginning of this year found means to escape from the house of propagation, where the bishop has them instructed in the Romish religion. The father, whose name is Empetat, was immediately ordered to seek his son and bring him back. Accordingly he set out, and spared no pains to find the lad: At every town and village he called at, he took care to procure authentic certificates of his diligent search; but all his pains were fruitless, he could get no tidings of his son. To the testimonials of his diligence in this affair the governor of Cret annexed a letter to the commanding officer at Die: The poor man returned with all these vouchers in his favour, and delivered them to the proper persons; but, instead of regarding them, they committed him to prison, where he remains at this hour.

In 1748, the Sieur Morand, merchant at Die, Rey of Chatillon, and André of Saillans, were taken up at the instigation of the abovementioned prelate, because their children had broke out of the house of propagation, and were confined a long time in the tower of Cret.

ARTICLE III.

The fines and imprisonments which the Protestants are subjected to, for the christenings and marriages celebrated by their own ministers.

I SHALL begin with the christenings. The Protestants urge three or four reasons why they cannot suffer their children to be baptized by the curates. The first is, that baptism being not only the seal of the promises which God has made in Jesus Christ, but also a mark of communion with that church in which it is received, their children cannot be baptized in the Romish church, without being deemed members of that church; which would be repugnant to their sentiment concerning the Romish communion, and to the obligations of conscience.

The second reason is deduced from the pretensions formed by the Catholic church to the children baptized within her own pale, She looks upon them as her property, and as be-

... we are well ...

ing bound to live and die in the faith she professes ; and there-
 on she grounds the right she assumes to carry off children
 from their parents, in order to give them a christian edu-
 cation in monasteries, as hath been decreed in the 60th ca-
 non of the fourth council of *Toledo*. It is in consequence of
 this notion that the author of the criticism on the pastoral let-
 ters of the minister *Jurieu*, page 106, asserts, *that the church*
has full power over those that have received baptism, just as
the king has a right to the money coined in his name. Every
 man must be sensible, that the more stress is laid on this ar-
 gument, the more averse must the Protestants be to the suf-
 fering their children to be baptized by the curates ; the ob-
 ligation they are under to bring up their offspring in the
 knowledge of that which they believe to be the only true re-
 ligion, and the tender concern they must needs have for the
 salvation of objects so dear to them, are invincible bars to it.
 Knowing the claims of the Romish church to the children
 baptized in it, Protestant parents cannot consent to such bap-
 tism without renouncing their right to train them up in that
 religion which they have received as divine. If they thought
 that their children might have an equal chance of being saved
 in either communion, why should not they themselves go
 over to the Romish church ? but they do not go over, though
 it would procure them many temporal advantages ; because
 they believe that they cannot conform to that church with-
 out guilt ; and if this be their opinion with regard to them-
 selves, they must have the same opinion also with respect to
 their children ; which will ever be an invincible obstacle to
 the suffering their children to be baptized into the church of
 Rome.

Their third reason against this baptism, is the promise re-
 quired of them by the curates, to educate their children in
 the principles of the Romish church. But every one sees,
 that, on their own principles, they cannot make such a pro-
 mise, without being guilty of inexcusable baseness, and an
 act of hypocrisy so much the more to be condemned, as it
 would be committed at the foot of the altar. Nevertheless,
 they are commanded by the king's declarations, to bring their
 children to be christened by the curates ; and those who fail
 to do it, or have had them baptized by their own ministers,
 are fined, and oftentimes imprisoned ; of which I shall give
 some examples.

In 1745, the wife of John Gitard, an inhabitant of Margine, near Die, being delivered of a dead child, the father was accused of having either neglected to get this child baptized at the parish church, or caused it to be christened by a Protestant minister; for which pretended neglect M. d'Audiffret, commandant in the district of Die, made him pay a fine of twelve louis d'ors, *i. e.* about twelve guineas. For a case of much the same nature, John Bouat, an inhabitant of the same place, was ordered to be taken into custody; of which having had early notice, he offered the commandant thirty louis d'ors, by way of ransom; but the offer being refused, because a larger sum was expected, Bouat absconded, and wandered about the country, to avoid a prosecution.

John Raveau and Peter Guerin, of Mexe in Xaintonge, were taken up in June 1746, having had their children christened at a meeting held near Jarnac on Charante.

In the month of September, the same year four persons were apprehended in Normandy, for refusing to let their children be baptized by the curates; and their estates, goods and chattels were sold without even the shadow of a legal process. Two of them were discharged out of prison the 5th of June 1747, on paying down 240 livres; and of the other two, one whose name is Gauffelin still lies in jail at Rouen.

In the month of October 1750, the sub-delegates of the intendant of Montpellier proceeded against Figuiere of Barre, Sailler of Sauve, and Mourgues of St. Hypolite in the Cevennes, and also against a man and two women of Pont de Lar in the Upper Languedoc, for having had their children christened by their own ministers; and they were all sentenced to imprisonment, and a fine of 500 livres each, besides the charges of the prosecution, which did not fall much short of the fine; and the children were ordered to be re-baptized.*

In the month of April 1751, the intendant of Montpellier gave notice to all the Protestants in his generality, that those who had got their children christened in the desert, should bring

* The third canon of the council of Trent hath thus decreed concerning baptism: *If any man say that baptism conferred by Heretics in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, with an intention to do what the church does, is not a true or valid baptism, let him be accursed.*

bring them to church within a fortnight at farthest, in order to their receiving the supplement to the baptismal ceremonies; and at the same time he enjoined the curates and consuls to send him lists of those who should be so ill advised as to disobey this order, that the penalties thereby incurred might be inflicted on them. He even charged the curates and consuls to notify to the Protestants in their respective districts, that such as should be daring enough to have their children baptized in the desert, were to expect no favour. "The intendant thinks them so much the more unworthy of mercy, as they never denied that the baptism administered to their children by Catholic curates was very valid; and therefore," says he, "to spurn at what is required of them for the present and for the future, and expose themselves to heavy pains and penalties, by their *obstinacy about nothing* would be a disobedience to the king's orders, which could not be excused by a religious motive." To which the "Protestants reply, that they presume to hope, that the three or four reasons alledged above, if well weighed, would justify their refusal; and persuade every candid, impartial man, that though they acknowledge the baptism conferred in the Romish church to be valid, their *opinion* or *obstinacy* is *not about nothing*, and that their disobedience is not destitute of real and lawful religious motives, since it is grounded on the cogent reasons urged above.

As to their marriages, they say, that the formalities and the probations required of them, are the obstacle to their having them celebrated by the curates. These probations are not the same every where. The Abbé Robert, grand provost of the cathedral of Nîmes, in a memorial he addressed to the late cardinal de Fleury in 1726, says that these trials are arbitrary; the bishops enjoining what they please. That some of them exact four months, some six, and others a whole year. In the diocese of Montpellier, the new converts must be assiduous at the homily and high mass * six months successively, and in the mean while be frequently examined touching their resolution to live and die in the Catholic, Apostolic and Romish religion; and if they would have their marriage celebrated, they must answer in the affirmative.

Bishop Flechier says, † "If any one openly professes Calvinism; if he does not even solemnly abjure it; if he tells
me

* See the bishop of Montpellier's circular letter to all the curates of his diocese, dated October 21, 1699.

† Lettres choisies, tom 1. lett. xviii

* me that he does not believe some articles of our faith; if
 * he only affects to perform the function of a Catholic; I shall
 * hold him unworthy of the ecclesiastic benediction, incapable of receiving the grace of the sacrament, and will
 * not consent to the priest's marrying him.'

* According to the regulations of the bishop of Mende, a new convert that would marry, is obliged to go through an uninterrupted course of instruction for six months, and not only declare that he will live and die in the Catholic religion; but also promise it upon oath before the altar.

In the diocese of Uzez, a new convert in the same case, is obliged to declare, that he makes profession of the Catholic, Apostolic and Romish religion; that he acknowledges it to be the only true religion, out of which there is no salvation, and in which he swears and protests he will both live and die, abjuring and detesting with his whole heart the sect of Calvin, and all the errors that were taught by him, and anathematized by the Catholic, Apostolic and Romish church; consenting to pass for a perjured miscreant, without honour and without faith, if ever he acts contrary to this his declaration.

Such conditions are so incompatible with their avowed principles and the dictates of conscience, that they cannot close with them, without rendering themselves guilty of a complication of crimes, such as base prævarication, perjury, hypocrisy, &c.

And yet they must either do this, or run the risque of having their marriages celebrated by their own ministers. Flying from their country is forbid, living in uncleanness is too culpable and too odious; celibacy is impossible, at least to the major part of them, and equally repugnant to the design of the author of nature and the interest of the kingdom. But in following the only course that is left them to take, to what hardships and dangers are they not exposed? The following instances will give some idea of them.

The 25th of March—the parliament of Grenoble caused the sieurs Vieux and Rangier to be apprehended on this account, and committed them to prison, where they lay several years.

By judgment given the 19th of November, 1746, M. Barentin, intendant of Rochel, fined Peter Fauconnet and Joan Bouclier, John Blais and Joan Mechinet, Elias Fleuri and Mary Brouard, all Protestants and inhabitants of
 Xaintonge,

Xaintonge, for having joined together in matrimony without observing the formalities prescribed; and forbad them to frequent, converse, or cohabit together, or even to call one another husband and wife.

Paul Garry of Bellegarde, and Olympia Maffie of the parish of Sapiac; Raymond Gaillard of the parish of Leojac, and Mary Vernhes of Bellegarde; Bartholomew Coste of St Martial; Jacob Caussade of the parish of Leojac, and Joan Terme; having been married by a minister at a meeting held the 27th of September, 1746, were on the 17th of December following sentenced by M. l'Escalopier, intendant of Montauban, the men to the galleys for ever, and the women to be confined for life in the general hospital of Montauban.

The 22d of April, 1748, Metifiot and Abraham Merle, of a place called Livron, were taken up, and committed to prison at Grenoble; and the effects of eight other persons were distrained.

M. de Patteville, a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Revel and his wife, were taken up the 13th of April, 1749, and confined, the husband in Brescou Fort, and the wife in a convent at Montpellier. The Sieur Bousanquet a barrister of la Salle in the Cevennes, and his spouse, were also arrested on the like account; he was carried to one of the towers of Aiguemortes, and she to a convent at Anduse.

Francis Bourgal and Mary Roussai; Stephen Doumenq and Anne Roufiac; Peter Fagez and Anne Villa; John Vogeze and Anne Roujai; Peter Lafons and Jane Derieu, all in the county of Foix, had writs of arrest issued out against them, for having been married by Protestant ministers.

For the same cause the parliament of Bourdeaux, by an arret of the 21st of May, 1749, ordered the forty-six persons, whose Names are here subjoined, ' to part forthwith after the publication of the arret; forbid them to keep any communication with each other, on pain of exemplary punishment; declared their cohabitation in consequence of such pretended marriages (blessed by ministers) to be concubinage; and the issue they had already had thereby, or might yet have, to be illegitimate and bastards and, as such, incapable of any suecession, whether direct or collateral, and of all other civil rights and prerogatives attributed to lawfully begotten children.

Names.	Towns and Parishes.
Peter Montes and	Jonfac
Mary Libaud	Ozillac
James Merlet and	} Jonfac
Catherine Cornevin	
John La Croix and	Jonfac
Jane David	St. Genis
James Biré and Mary Gillet	Jonfac
Joseph Lavocat and Mary Libaud	Ozillac
James Roulin and Magdalen	} Jonfac
Chevalier	
John Batard and	St. Fort
Mary David	St. Genis
Gabriel Robin and	Gemofac
Anne Rondeau	Pons
Lewis Daunis and	St. Fort
Mary Aimé	Lorignac
Simon Chauvin and	Gemofac
Magdalen Morice	Epargne
John André and	Jonfac
Gabriela Geoffroi	Marfac
John Nogué and Mary Couturier	Gemofac
Peter Mignon and	Lignieres
Mary Gautier	Bonneuil
Peter Baumard and Mary Gautier	Segonsac
John Baumard and Jane Puffiot	Segonsac
Peter Ervez and Mary Moncleau	Segonsac
Peter Bourderon and Susanna	} *** The list is defective here; so that it does not appear whether all these persons belonged to Segonsac, or to some other places.
Grillon	
John Bourdonneau and Mary	} *** The list is defective here; so that it does not appear whether all these persons belonged to Segonsac, or to some other places.
Corbeau	
Daniel Lavocat and Mary Cha-	} *** The list is defective here; so that it does not appear whether all these persons belonged to Segonsac, or to some other places.
peron	
Peter Ganier and Anne Guillon	} *** The list is defective here; so that it does not appear whether all these persons belonged to Segonsac, or to some other places.
Brosset Clinet and Mary Judith	
Palastre	} *** The list is defective here; so that it does not appear whether all these persons belonged to Segonsac, or to some other places.
Francis Robinet and Elizabeth	
Grasset	} *** The list is defective here; so that it does not appear whether all these persons belonged to Segonsac, or to some other places.
Peter Robineau and Elizabeth	
Glori	} *** The list is defective here; so that it does not appear whether all these persons belonged to Segonsac, or to some other places.

The same parliament, and for the like cause, by its arret of the 17th December 1749, declared the *cohabitation* of the 18 persons following, in consequence of their marriages, to be nothing else but *fornication*; and the issue thereof illegitimate

itimate and spurious, and as such, incapable of any succession or inheritance. Moreover, it condemned the men to the gallies for ever; and the women to be shaved and confined in the work-house of Bourdeaux, and the portions given them in marriage to remain appropriated towards the support of the said work-house. Besides which, the said arret decreed, that the certificates delivered by the ministers that gave them the nuptial blessing, which had been produced on the trials, should be delivered over to the hangman in order to their being burnt by him in the square of Lombiere palace; and that the pretended married couples, named in the said certificates, should be present at this execution. These are the names of those 18 persons:

Anthony Brian* and Jane Panchaud, Stephen Mingaud and Anne Bernard, Raymond Bayard and Charlot Pechadergue, Isaac Tavert and Catherine Bedene, John Pechadergue and Martha Sarasin, Joseph Lavigne and Mary Char-dourne, Isaac Roques and Mary Giral, Peter Chevalier and Mary Cavalier, Peter Augiere and Catherine Sauvage.

Towards the end of the year 1750, the following persons were sentenced to imprisonment, large fines and heavy charges of prosecution, viz.

Valat of Barre, Henry Mazelet,	} in the Cevennes
of St. John of Gardonnenque	
-----Puech of Figaret of St. Hy-	} of the Vans in Vivarais
polite-----de Balaruc	
The Wife of the Sieur Coutelle	
The Wife of the Sieur Rouze	
-----Eldin	

ARTICLE IV.

The various ways of punishing the Protestants, on account of the assemblies convoked for divine service.

THE instances of this kind are so numerous, that I do not well know where to begin the account. I could set out with a list of above 600 prisoners, all taken up since 1744, in the Upper and Lower Languedoc, Upper and Lower Cevennes, Vivarais, Dauphiny, Provence, county of Foix, Saintonge, and Poitou; among whom there are many gentlemen, barristers, physicians, substantial citizens, rich merchants and tradesmen, who have suffered long and cruel confinement, and were not released without arbitrary and

C

ruinous

* This man is now settled on Mr. Adderly's lands at Innishannon; his wife died in France of fatigue, after having travelled above 600 miles in order to make her escape with her husband.

ruinous fines and contributions. I might also produce another list of upwards of 800 persons sentenced to divers penalties, among whom there are more than eighty gentlemen.

The parliament of Grenoble alone summoned upwards of 250 persons in the months of August, October and November, 1744, and put them to a great expence, both in travelling-charges and Law-charges. In the month of July 1746, that parliament appointed a commission, to take informations on the spot against such Protestants as were suspected of having assisted at the meetings; which consisted of the Sieur Cotte commissary, a recorder, an attorney, and a tip-staff, who were attended by a party of marshalsea-men, and a detachment of 200 foot soldiers. At every place in their progress they sent for the curates, and such persons as were appointed to inform against those that went to the meetings; and as soon as the informations were taken, all the parties accused were served with sub-pœnas; and if they appeared, they were committed to prison, which was the hard fate of a great number of them.

The same parliament, by its arrets of the 6th, 9th, and 17th of February, 2d and 17th of March, 4th, 5th, 7th, 11th, and 22d of May, 28th of September, 15th of October and 6th of November 1745, 2d of April and 23d of September 1746, condemned upwards of 300 persons, some to death, some to the gallies, others to whipping, banishment, imprisonment temporary and perpetual, degradation from noblesse, fines, &c.

The article of the fines is very considerable. That the world may have a right notion of it, I shall subjoin a list of a very small number of those who have been obliged to pay since the year 1744, either in a collective body, or as individuals,

I say in a collective body, because in 1728 the province of Languedoc was divided into 143 districts, each containing a number of cities, towns, villages and hamlets; and when a meeting was held in any of those districts, all the Protestants that inhabited them were made answerable for it.

I begin with the list of these, which is divided into four columns; the first shewing the date of the sentence, the second the name of the chief place in the district, the third the fine, and the fourth the charges of the prosecution.

Dates.

Dates.	Districts.	Fines.	Law-charges.		
		Livres.	Livres.	s.	d.
1744					
Feb. 2.	St. Hypolite	1500	300	0	0
1745					
Jan. 28,	Puilaurens	600	200	0	0
March 4	Chambon	300	186	0	0
	Arpallargues	1000	125	0	0
— 14	Montpellier	1000	168	0	0
March 25	Castelnau de Bressac	2000	109	7	0
	La Caune	2000	265	13	8
April 4	Montpellier	1000	198	0	0
	Puilaurens	2000	122	13	0
— 6	St. Amand	4000	747	9	10
— 17	Nimes	3000	343	2	0
— 21	Baron	1000	270	10	8
Nov. 2	St. Amand	300	445	19	2
— 30	Mazamet	2000	339	7	8
Dec. 13	St. Ambroix	2000	389	9	0
— 18	Roquecourbe	500	241	16	1
— 27	St. Hypolite	2000	581	2	0
1746					
Jan. 5.	Mus	300	205	9	0
Feb. 25	Clarensac	1000	188	10	0
March 8	Nimes	1000	428	8	0
— 25	Boissiere	2000	294	0	0
April 30	Nimes	2000	381	15	0
May 20	Nimes	2000	377	19	0
— 25	Nimes	2000	336	18	0
	Nimes	2000	356	16	0
	Nimes	2000	356	13	6
	Mus	2000	297	12	0
— 30	Uzez	1000	276	10	0
	Uzez	2000	273	15	0
	Nimes	2000	356	13	6
July 31	Castres	2000	264	3	4
August 1	St. Ambroix	1500	328	9	8
	Montpellier	3000	246	0	0
— 3	Les Vans	1000	274	11	8
— 5	Alais & Anduze	3000	330	5	0
— 14	Revel	1000	370	17	6
	Realmont	2000	254	4	6
	Aiguefond	1000	427	16	0
Sept. 1	Roquecourbe	1000	270	8	7
— 5	Nages	1000	311	16	6
	Baron	1000	262	4	0
Oct. 2	Greiffesfac	200	204	0	0
— 4	Calmont	400	309	8	0

Dates.		Districts.	Fines.	Law-charges.		
			Livres.	Livres.	s.	d.
1746						
Oct.	9	Mazamet	1000	407	1	6
—	17	Bouquet	500	335	7	0
Dec.	17	Montauban & Villemade }	3000	1847	7	0
1747						
May	30	Realmont	2000	463	4	7
June	5	St. Ambroix	2000	321	6	8
—	7	Montpellier	4000	378	0	0
—	15	Massillargues	1500	377	16	0
July	7	Cailar	2000	545	15	0
—	11	Puilaurens	1500	328	14	6
August	21	Nîmes	2000	490	7	0
—	26	Ganges	1000	374	0	0
Sept.	30	Esperausse	600	357	8	2
1748						
July	29	Saverdun	4100	400	0	0
—	—	Mas d'Afil	350	120	3	9
—	—	Ufez	3500	000	0	0
—	—	Vellay	1460	000	0	0
1749						
—	—	Vellay	2300	000	0	0
April	22	Ferrieres	2000	365	2	0
May	7	Nîmes	2000	441	1	0
—	—	Nîmes	2000	441	1	0
1750						
Jan.	21	Manguio'	3000	262	0	0
—	—	Realmont	1000	000	0	0
—	—	Puilaurens	2000	000	0	0
—	—	Castres	3000	000	0	0

Even in this little sketch the fines amount to 113,410 livres, and the law charges to 36,703 livres 16 sols 9 deniers. But what would it be, had we swelled the account with all the other fines paid by the Protestants in a corporate capacity? and how much larger would the sum still be, if one could set down all the fines laid on individuals? But it is impossible to give exact lists of them. Let us only observe again, by way of sketch, that in the several arrets of the parliament of Grenoble, the dates of which I have mentioned above, we find near 100 persons sentenced to fines, or alms, from 100 to 1400 livres, and above 100 more from 10 to 60 livres, exclusive of the prosecution charges, which for the province of Dauphiny were all solidary, or well secured: This put together amounts, as is set forth in a petition which the Protestants of Dauphiny presented to the

the king in November 1750, to upwards of 200,000 livres, which have been exacted with the utmost rigour. These unfortunate men say in that petition, 'that from their pri-
' sons they could hear their goods sold by auction, and their
' heritages distributed to discharge one or the other of those
' articles.'

In divers other places the private fines amount to very considerable sums; and besides the fines decreed by the arrêts, I might mention a great number of persons, who, in order to get out of jail, or to redeem themselves from prosecution, have given privately to the intendants and other officers, thirty, fifty, and a hundred louis d'ors.

To this we ought to add, if it were possible, a true estimate of the devastations committed by the troops in divers places; the houses that have been razed by order of the parliaments; the proportion of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce, that has suffered in consequence of these violent proceedings; and all the expences and damages sustained by those that have been obliged to abandon their habitations, and wander from place to place, in order to escape corporal punishment.

The 20th of December, 1744, two troops of dragoons were quartered upon the Protestants of Milhaud, in Rouergue, who were ordered to find hay and oats for the horses: they staid there till the 1st of May, 1745, and put their hosts to an extraordinary expence of 30,000 livres: one lady alone, of the name of Pratel, had at first four quartered in her house, and was soon after obliged to take in four more. Two other troops of dragoons were billeted at discretion among the Protestants of St. Afrique, Sorbe, St. Rome, Tarn, St. John de Breuil, and several other places in the same province.

In the month of January, 1745, the marshal's parties of the district of Die, sustained by large detachments of troops, were sent in quest of the minister Roland, but did not find him: however, in every place they called at, they left behind them sad marks of their passage, making many prisoners and committing great disorders. The whole garrison of Nions was quartered upon the Protestants of that place: those of Vinsobres, at their return from a meeting, were obliged to take soldiers into their houses, who lived there at discretion. At Volvans the military troop was reinforced by the lord of the manor, named Bernard de Volvans, who being authorized by M. d'Audiffret, commandant in

the district of Die, put himself at the head of his peasants, to assist those that were in pursuit of the ministers : It was in the night between the 6th and 7th of February that he began his exploits, rushing first into the village of Tonnin, in the valley of Bourdeaux, whither they imagined the minister Roland had retired ; but not finding him there, he ordered the inhabitants to be plundered of every thing that his followers could carry away.

In the arrets of the parliament of Grenoble, the following houses were condemned to be pulled down to the ground, *viz.* the house of John Altier a cooper at Tresclou, by arret of the 5th of May, 1745 ; that of Susanna Monier, widow of Anthony Gallane, of Nions, by an arret of the 12th of the same month ; those of John Isnard of ----- and Daniel Payan of -----, by arret of the 15th of October the same year ; those of Abraham Thomas of Piallat, John Chirol and James Galland, by an arret of the 2d of April 1746 ; and the house of Peter Chanas of Beaumont, by arret of the 23d of December following. The intendant of Auch, by his arret 1746, condemned the glass-houses of Messrs. Galfion and Pomiliez, gentlemen of the county of Foix, to be demolished and razed from the ground, and forbad their ever being rebuilt.

It being impossible to descend to particulars, in regard to the casual expences and losses of those who forsook their houses and wandered from place to place, to elude the search that was made after them ; and it being equally difficult to form an estimate of the loss the kingdom has sustained by the decay of agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce, consequent upon the absence, imprisonment, and the continual terror and confusion of so many thousands of subjects, which, if added to all the other articles I have mentioned, would amount to millions of livres ; I pass on to the penalties inflicted on the Protestants for their meetings ; and of these there are six kinds, *viz.* Degradation from nobility ; banishment ; condemnation to the galleys for a certain number of years, and for ever ; the pillory, whipping, and death : of all which I have subjoined lists containing a variety of instances, most of which are divided into four columns, the first shewing the dates of the sentence ; the second, the names of the persons condemned ; the third, their places of abode ; and the fourth, the tribunals that passed sentence upon them.

*A LIST of Twenty-nine GENTLEMEN degraded
from their Nobility, the 6th of November, 1745,
by the Parliament of Grenoble.*

Names.	Places of Abode.
P ETER de Richaud	Hamlets of
Claude de Bouillane	Bonnets
Paul de Bouillane	Bayles
Andrew de Richaud	Berger,
Anthony de Richaud	
Anthony, alias Bertelon	
John Anthony de Richaud	
John Anthony de Richaud son of Peter	
John Peter de Richaud	
Lewis de Richaud	
Moses de Richaud	
Peter de Richaud, alias Breyton	
Francis de Richaud	Bournat
John Anthony de Richaud	
Peter de Richaud, alias Verdeyer	
Francis David de Bouillane	Hamlet of Bonnets
Jon David de Bouillane	
Paul de Bouillane	
John de Richaud	
John Peter de Richaud la Buse	
John de Bouillane	
Mathew de Bouillane	
Stephen de Richaud	
John Peter de Bouillane, alias Coufin	
Anthony de Richaud, Son of David John	
John de Richaud	
Just de Richaud	
John Mathew Morin	
Noel de Bouillane	

*A LIST of Fourteen Persons sentenced to Banishment
by the Parliament of Grenoble.*

Dates.	Names.	Places.
1745		
May 7	John Plumel	Fourcinel
— 12	John Lewis Bertram	Vinfobre
Sept. 28	Simon Berard	
	John Breinat	
1746		
April 2	John Bouvat	
	Mathew Boutan	
	Abraham Tomas	
	John Chirol	
	John Ferrier	
	Jane Girard	
	James Rostain	
Sept. 23	Andrew Poulat, Senior	
	John Forest	
	Lewis Ducros	

*A LIST of Four Persons sentenced to be whipt by the
Hangman.*

Dates.	Names.	Places.	By whom con- demned.
1745			
May 12	Sufanna Monier,	Nions	Parliament of Grenoble
	Widow of An- thony Galand		
Oct. 15	Magdalen Calvet		
	Wife of Tortel		
1746			
Aug. 27	Peter Gaillot	Marennnes	Intendant of Rochelle
	Peter Menceau		

*A LIST of Six Women sentenced by the Parliament of
Grenoble to be shaved by the Hangman, and to be
confined, some for a Term of Years and some for Life-*

Dates.	Names.	Places.
1746		
April 2	Martha Martin	Chatillon
	Margaret Perminjal	Livron
		The

Dates.	Names.	Places.
1746 Sept. 23	Mary Cleiffa Justinia Rodet Frances Cleiffa Margaret Mitifiot	Chabeuil Livron Chabeuil

The 9th of February 1745, James Bognard was by the Parliament of Grenoble sentenced to stand in the pillory, and afterwards to be banished; and on the 4th of May following Alexander Porte received the like sentence from the said Parliament.

A LIST of Thirty three Persons condemned to the Gallies, some for three and others for five Years.

Dates.	Names.	Places.	By whom condemned
1745			
March 17	Paul Berard	Chateaudouble	Parliament of Grenoble
May 5	Anthony Julian	Fresclou	
— 7	Antho. Rouvier	des Arnoux	
— 12	Barthol. Faure	Vinsobres	Int. of Montp, Parliament of Grenoble
Aug. 1k	William Iffoire	Nimes	
Sept. 28	Lewis Berard	Chateaudouble	
—	John Berard		
Oct, 15	John Cartier		
—	John Isnard		
1746			
April 2	James Galand	des Arnoux born at Berlin	
—	J. James Eymiri		
—	J. And. Pommier		
Sept. 13	John Daud		
— 23	Paul Premier		
—	Peter Chaisfiere		Parliament of Bordeaux
—	James Ducros		
—	S. Combe Duron		
—	And. Poula, Jun.		
—	John Lewis Faure		
—	Anthony Riaillon	Gigors	
—	J. Lantheaume	Lauzeron	
—	VII. Persons	of the Neigh- bourhood of Ste. Foy	
August 1747			
July 3	Peter Maillefaud	Lavardez	Parliament of Grenoble.
1750	J. Anth. Raillon	Vercheny	
—	Peter Pinet	Menglon	
—	James Mulletier	Gigors	
—	J. Cros de Roumeyer		

A LIST

A LIST of six Men condemned to the Galleys for ten Years by the Parliament of Grenoble.

Dates.	Names.	Places.
1745		
Oct. 15	Peter Roland Stephen Tortel Peter Lami	St. Dizier Beaumont ✓
Sept. 23	Peter Chanas	
1746	James Cleiffa	
	James Tromparen	

A LIST of one Hundred and five Persons condemned to the Galleys for Life, among whom are forty-six Gentlemen and two Knights of the order of St. Lewis.

Dates.	Names.	Places.	By whom condemned
1745			Parliament of Grenoble.
Feb. 6	Paul Achard	Chatillon	
— 17	Stephen Arnaud		
— 26	Anthony Riaille	Oste	
	Peter Berard		
Mar. 17	Anthony Berard		
	John Faure		
	J. James Guitard	Angles	Intebdant of Montpellier
April 6	James Doules de la Tour		
	P. Loubié		
	Lewis Bel		
	Pet. Bernadou	Mazamet	
	D. Bernadou		
	Pet. Sabatier		
	John Molinier		
	Alexis Corbiere	Aupoul	
		Messuage of Sarnarie	
May 5	John Allier	Trefclou	Parliament of Grenoble
Sept. 23	Paul Berard	Chateau-double.	
Oct. 15	John Buis	St Dizier	
	James Amic		
Nov. 6	J. P. de Bouillane	Bonnets	
	A. de Richaud	St. Julian	
	J. Mat. Morin		
Dec. 13	Anthony Roux	St Ambroi f	
1746			
Feb. 1	John Menut	Mazel	Intendant of Montpellier
			Dates.

Dates.
1746
Feb. 5

Names.

Places.

By whom
condemned.
Intendant of
Auch

John Robert,
Sieur de Moner
Octav. de Moner
John Moner,
Sieur de Gaffion
J. Moner, Sieur
de Boufquet
John Moner,
Sieur de Robert
Peter Moner,
Sieur du Garil
Vincent Moner
James de Prade
J. de Prade, Jun.
Francis la Salle
Paul de Biros
Charles Pontiez
If. Grenier, Sieur
de las Termes
J. Grenier, Jun.
Mark de Grenier,
Sieur de Launée
J. Grenier, Sieur
de Courtelas
Lewis Robert,
Sieur d'Angelis
—Magnoac, Sen.
John Paul Mag-
noac, Jun.
Joseph Monbat
— Bellot, Sen.
— Bellot, Jun.
— La Plane
— Vergez
— Cantegril
Mark la Vignasse
Guy Verbizier
J. Paul Loumet
James Vignasson
J. Hautequerre
L. Cabanac, Jun.
Andrew Grainier
de Barmont
— Montauriol
— La Riverole
— Niger
John Canebat
— Fageau
Ver. de Poudelas

Of the Glafs-
Houfes in the
District of
Conferans.

Conferans

Conferans

John

Dates.	Names.	Places.	By whom condemned.
1746 Feb. 5	John la Pieriere Hen. Bartaranieu Henry le Chard John Grainier Lew. la Tourrete J. Fran. la Barthe John Veziat	Conserans	Intendant of Auch.
April 2	Jon Berlin Lewis le Noir	Liege Montelimard Chatillon	Parliament of Grenoble Intendant of Montpellier.
Aug. 1	— Courdire		Intendant of Rochel.
	Lewis André	St. Just	Parliament of Grenoble
Sep. 23	Mark Anthony Bufac James Jenfel Peter Sayn John Jourdan Moses Berard J. Lewis Souchon John Bouvet Barthol. Daud		
Mar. 24 1749	Fran. Fargues Paul Mercier Step. Laborde Paul Laborde	Mas d'Azil	Intendant of Montauban
July 22	John Peter Bou- villat J. Lafont alias Rey	Sabarat	Intendant of Perpignan
Aug. 2	Francis Lafont Peter Rondeau Fra. Boibleau John Boiffon	Mas d'Azil Saintonge	Parliament of Bordeaux
Jan. 17 1750	Andrew Bernard Henry Martel Steph. Chapelier	Vendras Fons Saufine	Intendant of Montpellier.
Ap. 16	Francis Roufier, alias Rouger	St. Paul trois Chateaux	Parliament of Grenoble
July 18	And. Bridonneau	Velandin	Intendant of Poitiers.
Dec. 24	John Garagnon Lewis Negre James Boucairan Francis Anton Peter Raimbert	Montareng Coulorgues Aubessargues St Mediers Aurilliac	Intendant of Mont- pellier.
Mar. 15 1751	Paul Mathieu Anthony Mortier	Nimes Calvisson	Intendant of Montpellier
May 7 24	John Trouiller Claude Chamont	La Fraignée born at Geneva	Int. of Rochel Int. of Mont

A LIST of Five Persons that received Sentence of Death, and were executed in Effigy.

Dates.	Names.	Places.	By whom condemned.
1746			
-----	A. Trimolière	Neighbour- hood of Montauban	Intendant of Montauban
-----	Will. Ferieu		
-----	John Reinal		
April 2	Peter Roland	St. Julian in	Parliament of
1747	-----	Quint	Grenoble
-----	-----	St. Foy	Par. of Bordeaux

ARTICLE V.

Instances of the troops firing into the Meeting houses, and insulting and wounding the people.

THE 17th of March, 1745, two troops of dragoons came suddenly upon an assembly which the minister Corteiz had convoked near Mazamet, in the diocese of Lavaur, fired among the people and wounded several.

The 21st of November, in the same year another meeting that was held near St. Hypolite, in the Cevennes, having been discovered, a detachment of 123 soldiers was sent against it, who fired upon the people with a volley of small arms, and wounded many.

The 8th of September, 1748, a detachment of soldiers beset an assembly convoked in the neighbourhood of St. Ambroise, in the diocese of Uzes, behaved with the utmost indecency to the women, and plucked off their rings, silver stay-hooks, and pearl neck-laces; took from the people what money they had about them, seized their horses, being fifteen or eighteen in number, which were sold two days after to the highest bidder; and also wounded divers persons, particularly one Molière, of St. John des Anels, who received three wounds from a bayonet in the head.

The 9th of June, 1749, a detachment of dragoons rushed upon an assembly convoked in the neighbourhood of Montmoiran, in Dauphiny dispersed the congregation, fired

many

many vollies after them as they were running away, and took several of them prisoners.

The 22d of November, 1750, a detachment of 130 men, of the regiment of Lisle, commanded by M. de Meson, major of the regiment, assailed a meeting in the neighbourhood of Uzez, routed the congregation, fired many shot after those that endeavoured to escape, and made above 300 prisoners, who suffered themselves to be taken like sheep, without offering the least resistance; of whom many were afterwards condemned to the gallies, and the rest to imprisonment and other penalties.

ARTICLE VI.

The seizure of Protestant books, and the pecuniary, defamatory, afflictive, and capital penalties decreed against the owners of such books.

THE importation of Protestant books into the kingdom is prohibited with all the severity that might be expected from the most cruel and vigilant *Inquisition*: when such books are found, they are seized and committed to the flames, the owner of them is subject to heavy penalties, most commonly the gallies; of which some instances follow.

In September, 1744, at a place called Dieulefit, Stephen Arnaud was taken up, for having instructed youth in the singing of psalms. The 17th of Feb. following he was condemned by the parliament to the gallies for life, after being first put into the stocks at the place where he was apprehended: a New Testament and Psalter, that were found upon him when taken up, were put in stocks along with him.

In the beginning of the year 1745 a cask of Protestant's books, concealed under pitch, was stopt at Lyons; and by means of the letters and bills sent by the carrier, it was soon found out whence the books came, and to whom they were consigned. This incident greatly alarmed many of the Protestants, though most of them that were thus frightened were strangers to the contents of the cask. Mr. Carnac, director of the post offices in that part of the kingdom, was obliged to repair to Paris, to clear himself. The widow Mouffier, inn-keeper at the sign of the three moors at Nimes, Lombart a waggonner, Cabanis a taylor, and one la Porte
of

of the same city, were taken into custody on this account, and carried to the citadel of Montpellier; and several other persons were obliged to abscond. Issoire, miller at Nimes was taken up the 10th of March, and thrown into a dungeon, where he remained a month; after which he was removed to the citadel of Montpellier, and at last condemned to the galleys for having sold some protestant books.

Towards the end of April the same year, four bales of books, containing New Testaments, &c. in sheets, were seized in a public carriage near Nimes; And as they were supposed to have been printed at Avignon, or at least to have been sent from thence, Mess. Auffray, father and son, book-sellers in that city, thought it safest to abscond.

In the sentence which the intendant of Auch pronounced the 5th of February 1746 against a great number of gentlemen who were proprietors of a glass manufactory, it was ordered that the books concerning the pretended reformed religion, seized in the houses of any of the said gentlemen and produced at their trials, should be burnt in the market place of St. Girons by the hangman.

Anne Gides, a girl of 16 or 17 years of age, of Lussan in the diocese of Uzes, having departed the kingdom in 1745, her father Stephen Gides, was sentenced the 17th of December the same year, by the intendant of Montpellier, to pay a fine of 6000 livres into the hands of the Sieur de Laroc, to which he should be constrained by quartering upon him a marshalsea horseman at the rate of four livres, *per diem* till the fine was paid and to bring his said daughter to the Sieur Chambon, sub-delgate, within three months, on pain of being fined 6000 livres more; and subjected to still greater penalties, according as the nature of the case might seem to require.

The 26th of September 1748 the same intendant condemned Frances Granger, a Protestant, Wife of Anthony Fesquet of Ganges, to pay a fine of 300 livres, only for having practised in the capacity of a Midwife.

John Arlaud, stocking weaver, of Valeragues in the diocese of Uzes, and Mary Raiffiguiet, wife of James Mialhe, weaver at Mesage du Teil in the parish of Vabrees in the diocese of Castres, were both sentenced by the same Intendant, John by an ordonnance of the 27th of April 1748, and Mary by an ordonnance of the 26th of October following,

to make *amende honourable* *, the one at Montpellier and the other at Castres, and then to be banished the Kingdom, for having forsaken the Romish and embraced the Protestant religion.

The 1st of August 1746 the Intendant of Rochel condemned Elias Vivien, a shoemaker of Marennés in Saintonge, aged 78, to make *amende honourable*, and then to be hanged, and his body to remain 24 hours on the gallows; from thence to be carried to the gibet, there to remain 'till entirely consumed: and all this, says the arret, for being convicted of having assisted at several meetings of the reformed, and particularly at that which was held the 10th of July 1746 near the village of Artouan, &c.

The 10th of June 1748, M. le Nain, Intendant of Montpellier, passed sentence of death on John Desjours, of the parish of Brussac in Vivarais, for having been one of those that petitioned on the 12th of December 1746, for the enlargement of the minister Majal alias Defubas; which sentence was executed the same day.

The 18th of July 1750, M. de Beaumont, Intendant of Poitiers, condemned James Boursault, of the village of Burliere in the parish of Moncoutan, to be hanged, for having helped to rescue from the marshalsea men one of his friends and neighbours, named John Perochon, who was by the same sentence ordered to be hanged: This Boursault had been confined in the prison of Poitiers since the year 1747, and was executed the same day that the Intendant passed sentence of death upon him.

ARTICLE

• An ignominious punishment generally inflicted for slight offences. The criminal walks in some publick place barefoot and stript to his shirt, with a lighted wax taper in his hand, and a rope fastened round his neck, the end of which is held by the hangman, who walks behind him attended by the sheriff's officers.

ARTICLE VII.

The execution of ministers both in person, and effigy.

ALL Protestant ministers, preaching in France, are condemned to death by the laws: None that are seized ever escape hanging. I shall give the reader only three instances of these executions.

The first is that of Lewis Ranc, a native of Dauphiny, about 26 years of age. He was taken up the 16th of February 1745 at Livron, and carried directly to Valence jail. When examined before M. Chais, the Intendant's sub-delegate, he confessed that he was a minister, and had performed the functions of one. The 26th of the same month some witnesses were heard for form's sake, and the next Day he was sent away to Grenoble, where he arrived the 1st of March. The day following the parliament condemned him to lose his life on a gibbet; after which his head was to be severed from the body, and stuck upon a post in the high way over against the tavern at Livron, where he was apprehended. He was executed at Die; and whilst they carried his head to the place appointed, M. d'Audiffret, commandant in the district of Die, and the bishop's grand vicar, caused the corpse to be dragged through the streets; nay, they even forced a young Protestant, who was present at the execution, and appeared deeply concerned at it, to help the hangman to drag the body, which was at length flung into a common sewer.

James Roger, a native of Boissiere in Languedoc, after having exercised the functions of preacher or minister for the space of 34 years in Dauphiny, was taken into custody the 29th of April 1745, at a place called the Petites Vachers, and from thence carried to Grenoble jail. The Parliament by its arret of the 22d of May following, sentenced him to be hanged. He had been accused, as hath been related in the beginning of this memorial, of having read, at a meeting of Protestants, a forged edict of toleration; but was fully cleared of this calumny by the said arret's silence on this head. 'The court, 'says the arret, has declared the said Roger duly indicted and 'convicted of having performed the functions of preacher, at 'divers meetings of Reformed, and in several parts of the province; to atone for which, it has ordered him to be delivered 'up to the executioner, and to be hanged until he be dead.' But not a syllable was said about that forged or pretended edict, which had nevertheless engaged M. d'Argenson to write to M.

de Piolenc, that the King desired the said Roger might be prosecuted, and made such an Example of as the heinousness of the case required.

The minister being thus condemned, was led the same day to the place of execution by fifty soldiers, with drums beating all the way. His body was left twenty-four hours on the gibet, then dragged to the river that runs through Grenoble, and thrown into it.

Matthew Majal alias Desubas, a native of Desubas in the parish of Vernoux, in the diocese of Viviers, aged 26, was taken up the 11th of December, 1745, near St. Agreve, and carried prisoner to Montpellier, where he was condemned the 1st of February following to be hanged; 'being, as the arret expresses it, duly indicted and convicted of having exercised the functions of a minister of the pretended reformed religion in the Upper and Lower Vivarais.' At his last examination before the Intendant, he was adjured in the name of God, before whom he was shortly to appear, to give him (the Intendant) a true answer to the questions he was going to put to him: which the minister having promised to do, the Intendant then asked him, *Whether the Protestants had not a common chest? Whether they had not a magazine of arms? Whether they did not hold a correspondence with England?* 'To all which he answered in the negative; adding, that the ministers preach up nothing but patience, and loyalty to the king.' *I know it*, replied the Intendant.

The minister was led towards evening to the Esplanade, where, after the hangman had burnt at the foot of the ladder the papers and books that were found upon him when taken up, he was executed in the Sight of a prodigious concourse of people. He shewed to the last moment, as his two brethren above mentioned had also done, so much fortitude and piety, that all the spectators, both Protestants and Catholics, shed tears.

Besides these three ministers that were put to death, several others have been executed in Effigy; namely, the sieurs Olivier and Carriere alias Corteiz, condemned the 5th of February, 1746, by the Intendant of Auch; and the sieurs Vouland, Roland, de la Cour, des Noyers, Dubuiffon, Ranc, Paul Faure, all preachers or ministers, condemned by the parliament of Grenoble the 2d of April following.

ARTICLE VIII.

The murders and massacres committed in divers places.

THE 4th of March, 1744, some troops of Dragoons of the queen's regiment arrived at Montauban, and the same day were quartered at discretion upon the Protestants in the neighbourhood, where they committed many disorders. Two of them having drank to excess, seized upon a young woman, with an intent to ravish her: her cries drew to her relief a few peasants that were at work near the place, and in a few minutes more a great crowd of them came up, but all without any arms. Such a number frightened the two dragoons, whose terror being also heightened by their guilt, they looked for nothing but immediate death, and cried out *alerte*, their watch word; at which cry their comrades gathered together, the quarter-master beat to arms, and all the dragoons mounted and fell upon the defenceless multitude. A peasant of seventy years old was killed on the spot, many were wounded in their flight, and eleven were made prisoners, whom the dragoons tied to their horses tails, and thus led them as it were in triumph to the Intendant's house at Montauban. The Intendant, who on the bare report of the quarter-master, believed that the peasants were the aggressors, without making any farther inquiry, committed those eleven men to prison, and sent advice of the affair to court, where the news was received as an object worthy of serious consideration. The innocence of the Protestants was at last proved and acknowledged, and the prisoners released; but no punishment was inflicted on the dragoons who had occasioned the tumult and been guilty of the massacre.

The 12th of December, 1745, the detachment that was conveying the minister Desubas from St. Agreve to Vernoux, passed through a little village called Cluac, where a Protestant, named Stephen Gourdol, being overwhelmed with grief to see one of his pastors in the hands of the Soldiers, hastily gathered together sixteen or seventeen persons, both men and women, but without any kind of weapon, who all drew near the commanding officer, and earnestly intreated him to restore them their minister: but all the answer he gave them was a volley of musket-shot, by which six were killed on the spot. Four more were seized by the soldiers.

A congregation assembled that day near Vernoux by a colleague of M. Defubas, being alarmed at the danger their pastor was in, ran towards the town: it consisted chiefly of old men, women and children, who had recourse to no other means but supplications and tears to obtain the enlargement of their minister, being encouraged to make this application by four of the principal inhabitants of the place, viz Messrs. Afforty, Montagne, Garnier, and Abriac. But instead of obtaining their request, the Burghers, in concert with the garrison, loaded their pieces, and fired from their windows upon this feeble and defenceless multitude; near thirty were killed on the spot (whose names are inserted in the margin) and above 200 were wounded.

The news of this slaughter having reached the extremities, and the mountains of Vivarais, the young men instantly ran to arms, without considering the consequences: those of the extremities arrived before the town of Vernoux the 13th of December in the morning, being the day after the massacre, and began by threats to insist upon the enlargement of the minister; who, the moment he had heard of their rash proceeding, wrote to them in these terms from the prison, 'Gentlemen, I beg you would retire: the king's troops are numerous, and too much blood has been already spilt. I am very easy, and perfectly resigned to the will of heaven.'

His colleagues being informed of this enterprize, hastened after the young men, and joining their exhortations to the entreaties of the confined minister, prevailed on them to retire; which they had no sooner done, than they sent notice of it to the officers of the garrison, 'assuring them that they were extremely sorry for what had happened; that as they were at some distance when the tumult began, they could not possibly hinder

* William Boyer, Claude and Daniel Vernat father and son, Marchon brother in law of Claude Vernat, Simon Bernard, John Peter Clos, Boissin de Rias, Peter Briend, John James Bravais, John Lapra, John Peter Levrier, Ponce, John Garai, James Bonnet, James Bourete, Isaac John Tracol, John Paul Rossilie, Taussion, James Pranos or Preneus, Gabriel Beriou, Peter Valat, Matthew Poliac, John Peter Rissoan, John James Riou, N——, a weaver at Champ, Cladina Teron alias la Noaille. Among those killed at Cluac, were Stephen Gourdol, Matthew Courtial, Claude Rias, James Julien. The next day, being the 13th of December, three more were killed by a detachment, commanded by M. de Maran, viz. Peter and Mathew Courtial, brothers, and Peter Veron.

‘ hinder it ; but that they would do all that lay in their power
 ‘ to prevent any future appearance of men in arms.’

The 25th of April 1747, in the night, the horsemen of the marshalseas of la Chataigneraie, Chatonnai and Fontenay, committed divers disorders and several murders, at a place called la Javeliere, and in the places dependant on the parish of Moncouthon, in the Lower Poitou and diocese of Rochel; the inhabitants of which drew up an account of the facts, and sent it to the count de Chabannes and to the Intendant of Poitiers. In that account they set down the names of the persons that were either killed or wounded, among whom were several women. These poor people were so terrified with what they had already suffered and what they expected to suffer, that in their relation they said, ‘ they had forsaken their houses, left their fabrick of
 ‘ stuffs, abandoned their oxen, their ploughs, and, in short,
 ‘ all their business, and were ready to remove into foreign lands,
 ‘ in order to seek that rest and peace which they could not find
 ‘ at home : that in the mean while they wandered about the
 ‘ country, and lay in the fields without any shelter.’

In the night of the 22d of January 1750, the archers being in pursuit of James Poing, a young man of Javeliere, discharged two pistols and a musket at him, mortally wounded him, and left him to expire under a hedge.

About Easter the same year, another band of archers made some prisoners in Poitou, one of whom named Paquerau, an inhabitant of Moucham, endeavouring to escape, they fired four musket shot after him, and stopt his flight : he died of his wounds at Lusignan, as they were carrying him with the other prisoners to Poitiers.

The 28th of March 1751, being Sunday, a detachment of soldiers, headed by M. de Marci, fell upon an assembly held between Anduse and Lesan in Cevennes. The congregation dispersed at their approach, but they were pursued, and 15 were taken prisoners : upon this the parents and friends of these unfortunate persons made a stop, and came in the most submissive manner, to beg of the officer to let them go ; but he received them with a volley of fire-arms, by which three were killed upon the spot, *viz.* Andrew Bellemain of Cardet, Stephen Audoyer of Masat, and John Cause of Lezan : a greater number were wounded, who died some days after.

But let us leave these scenes, and proceed to the last article of this memorial, which contains instances of rage and barbarity, not less shocking to human nature.

ARTICLE IX.

The exhumation of dead bodies, and the indignities offered them.

THE 10th of April 1749, Daniel Stephen alias la Montagne, died at Cadenet in Provence. One of his neighbours went to give notice of it to the curate, and to ask him to bury the deceased: but upon his refusal, some Protestants carried away the corpse in the night, and buried it in the fields, in a grave they had dug for that purpose. Their motions had been watched, and they were followed at some distance by Paschal Beraud, surgeon of the place, and some other Catholics provided with shovels and pickaxes; so that they had no sooner retired from the grave than these men dug up the body, tied a rope about its neck, and dragged it through the village, skipping and dancing all the way to the sound of a tabret and fife. In every place they stopped at to take a breathing, they beat the body with their clubs, using these expressions; *This blow is for such a meeting, where thou hast been; and this for another meeting: Ah! wretched Montagne, thou shalt go no more to sermon at Lormarin.* When they were tired of this work, they tied up the object of their rage by the heels, opened the breast and belly, and plucked out the intestines, which they fixed to the end of long poles, and thus carried them in procession through the streets, crying all the while, *Who'll by any Fraichaille? i. e. Fresh Bits.* The procession being over, they returned to the corpse, and quartered it, put it into a basket, and carried it to the surgeon's house. Such monstrous inhumanity could not but alarm every serious man, and occasion loud complaints. The magistrate of the place found himself obliged to take cognizance of this violation, and he accordingly made some inquiries after the authors of it; but it was only for form's sake: no one was punished for it; and the surgeon, though the most guilty of the gang, absconded only for a few days.

Claude Cabanis of the city of Alais in Cevennes, a merchant, and contractor for all the spinning at Castres and Lavaur, whose probity and charity to the poor had gained him the love and esteem of all honest men, and whose extraordinary talents for commerce had endeared him to the whole province; this man, so highly valued, died at Lavaur the 14th of July 1749, of a distemper that carried him off in twenty-four hours. The populace being informed that the curate had lost his labour, Mr. Cabanis dying, as he had lived, a hugonot, they immediately took

took fire at it, ran to the house of the sieur Besseri, where the object of their fury lay dead, and demanded the corpse with dreadful menaces and imprecations: eight and forty hours elapsed, and not one could yet bring them into a better temper. By means of a large bribe, a certain fellow was prevailed upon to dig a grave in a spot of ground dearly purchased of the treasurer of the hospital of Lavour, in which work he was assisted by two of the deceased's spinners: these three men set out about midnight with proper implements for making a grave, which they carried concealed in sacks: but all their precautions proved fruitless; they were discovered, and saluted with volleys of stones and brick-bats; one of them was dangerously wounded in the head, another bruised in the Arms, and the third in the body: however they made shift to get clear of the shower, and with much difficulty reached a house, where they were received and sheltered.

In the mean while the corpse which remained at Mr. Besseri's house, was loudly called for by the furious mob, who were going to break in by main force; when, by dint of entreaties and money, the horse-marshalsea and their brigadier were prevailed on to lend their assistance. This officer and his men quickly forced a passage through the croud, took possession of the street door, brought down the corpse, and escorted it safely to the place of interment: the grave was dug in their presence, the body let down into it and a huge mill-stone laid upon it, to secure it from the insults of these enraged bigots: but the precaution availed them nothing.

The white penitents of Lavour, under the frivolous pretext that the garden, where Mr. Cabanis was buried, was too near their church, raised the mob again, who flew immediately to the grave, dug up the corpse in spite of the mill-stone, cut off its head, and were going to divide the body into quarters, in order to have the inhumane pleasure of carrying the members in triumph through the streets of Lavour, when the archers came upon them a second time and forced them to forego their prey. A new grave was then made; the archers staid to see the body buried; and, to prevent a repetition of their attempts, a great quantity of quick-lime was thrown in to consume the corpse: and so closed (the last scene of) this tragedy.

However shocking the representation that has been given of the protestants case in this memorial may seem, it would be defective if I did not add, that their condition seems to be remediless, since their most humble and respectful petitions are either secured from the king, or never taken notice of; and when dri-

ven by this neglect, to have recourse to the press, in order to set forth their hardships, and prove the innocence of their conduct, their writings are deemed acts of rebellion, and, as such, immediately suppressed and branded by arrets of parliaments: such was the case of the apologetical memorial published in 1745, which on the information and at the requisition of the sieur Du Saget, was ordered by the parliament of Thoulouze, the 29th of October in the same year, to be torn and burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and such of the apology for their religious meetings, which they printed the same year, and which the parliament of Grenoble, at the requisition of Charles Aubert, advocate general, condemned to the like fate the 6th of February 1647. And yet in those pieces the protestants only set forth, in the most guarded and respectful terms, their present condition, the purity of their religion, the innocence and regular discipline of their assemblies, though often very numerous; the tender affection, profound veneration, and unshaken loyalty of the heads and members of those assemblies, for the person of their august monarch, and their inviolable regard and steady attachment to the interest of his crown; and the grievous violence offered to their consciences by edicts, which lay them under the cruel necessity of disobeying their king, in order to obey his God and their God. Indeed, their innocence was painted in those pieces in such strong and lively colours, that the arrets which ordered them to be burnt, could not deface or tarnish it, charging them with no other species of rebellion, *than meeting together contrary to the king's ordonances, or of having dared to say, that for upwards of a century they enjoyed full liberty to assemble themselves publickly in temples set apart for that use.*

Proceedings like these must convince them that they can no longer implore, even in the most respectful terms, the justice and clemency of the king, without incurring the indignation of those very tribunals, which were instituted to protect the innocent and succour the oppressed; and that they must suffer and groan in silence, without daring to vent a single complaint.

Blackened by the vilest calumnies; deprived of what is dearest to them in this world, their children; made accountable for the elopement of those children; necessitated to have their marriages celebrated by their own ministers, and yet charged on account of those marriages with fornication; their children pronounced illegitimate, and their inheritance taken from them; their ministers marked out for death, and dispatched like common malefactors; themselves also exposed to heavy fines, expensive law-charges, whippings, the pillory, the galleys, and death,

death, for worshipping the Supreme Being according to their consciences: nay, denied even the repose and quiet of the grave itself; and yet under this complication of evils not daring to complain, lest the weight of their misery should be encreased.

Such is the condition of the Protestants of this kingdom; and I submit it to the impartial world, whether it is not truly deplorable, more so perhaps than that of any other people upon earth.

June 30, 1751.

A P P E N D I X.

Numb. I.

*Ordonnance of the French king, given at Versailles
January the 17th, 1750.*

HIS majesty being informed, that during the time of war, and even since, contraventions to the edicts, declarations and ordonnances concerning the pretended reformed religion, are multiplied in Languedoc, by the artifice of the ministers or preachers, who have spread there the false opinion of a pretended tolerance; and judging it necessary to stop by the surest and most ready methods, the course of the said contraventions; his majesty has ordained and does ordain, will, and intend, that the ordonnances, edicts and declarations, and particularly that of the 14th of May, M,DCC,XXIV, (in which are these words: 'We do command that all preachers who shall call assemblies, preach in them, or discharge any other function be put to DEATH! which we would not for the future have any one esteem a mere threatening that will not be put in execution.') be executed according to their form and tenor; enjoining all officers and judges of the said province, to attend diligently to their execution. And farther, his majesty ordains, that the commander in chief in the said province, and the Intendant and Commissary therein appointed, shall continue to take cognizance of the said contraventions, the cognizance whereof has been already committed to them. And farther the commander in chief, and in his absence the Intendant shall proceed against the new converts of the said province, who shall contract marriages, either before the ministers or preachers, or in private houses or other Places, or who shall go out of the kingdom to contract marriages in a foreign country: and, in like manner, if the contracting parties be minors, against their fathers and mothers, tutors and guardians, who have assisted at the said pretended marriages, or shall have given their consent. His majesty also wills, that when any child of those who have heretofore made profession of the pretended reformed religion, or who were born of parents formerly protestants, shall be brought to the assemblies and presented to the ministers or preachers,

ers, to receive baptism, the commander in chief, or, in his absence, the said Intendant, shall proceed against the fathers and mothers, or others, who have brought and presented the said infants. And they shall proceed in like manner against all the inhabitants of the province, who, without the permission of his majesty, shall send out of the kingdom the children, of which they are fathers or mothers, tutors or guardians, to be educated there. And his majesty wills, that, upon account of all the aforesaid cases, the commandant in chief and the Intendant pronounce definitively and in the last resort against the delinquents, and lay upon them such fines, or inflict such other punishments, as are appointed by the ordonnances, edicts, and declarations. And moreover ordains, that by the said commander in chief, or, in his absence by the said Intendant, the process shall be also made and perfected definitively and in the last resort, against all those of the new converts of the said province, who shall be convicted of the crime of relapse, and against all those of the catholics, who shall apostatize; his majesty granting to them, for this purpose, full power, jurisdiction and cognizance. Given at Versailles, the 17th of January, 1750.

APPENDIX. No. II.

SINCE the date of the preceding memorial, a great number of Protestants have been taken into custody, for the marriages, and christenings performed by their own ministers. Amongst these may be reckoned, in the diocese of Uzes, Messrs. Afemar, a gentleman of St. Maurice de Case-Vieille, Rouffiere a manufacturer at Uzes, Jonquet a burghers of Mouillac, Richard de St. Hypolite of Caton; who, besides the imprisonment, have been sentenced to pay considerable fines, viz. the first 1000 livres, the second and third 2000, and the fourth 1700 livres. In the upper Languedoc Messrs. Calveyrac and Mary Salvayre of Caune, Escalé and Corbiere of Realmont, James Mialhe an inhabitant of Boufounet, John David Sers notary at Bessonnè, Cambin of Angles, Azan surgeon of the same place, Bosc of Guilhonié, Benazeth and Terrat of Capelle, and Cavailcz of Seujol, have all been apprehended and carried to the castle of Ferriere, where they found many of their brethren. The manner in which these captures were made, and the menaces with which they were accompanied, struck such a terror into the Protestants of the unhappy places just mentioned, that many of them forsook their habitations, to dwell in caves and woods. The deserts were peopled with fugitives; the lands were either uncultivated, or the harvest perished on them for want of hands to reap it; the looms stood still, and commerce visibly declined. All this could not but be prejudicial to the state: The Intendant of Languedoc was sensible of it, and having the interest of his country at heart, he wrote the following letter to his sub-delegates, dated the 1st of September 1751.

‘ **I** Am informed that a good number of religionists in your
 ‘ department, guilty of marriages, or christenings, in
 ‘ the desert, have quitted their houses, and taken to the
 ‘ woods and fields, from an apprehension that there may be or-
 ‘ ders issued for imprisoning them, as hath been the case of ma-
 ‘ ny of their neighbours. If that apprehension is well ground-
 ‘ ed, they may very easily dispel it, by sending their children
 ‘ to their curates, in order to get them to supply what is want-
 ‘ ing

ing in the ceremonies of baptism * : But if their flight be owing to an obstinate, disobedient spirit, in vain they flatter themselves that we shall take no cognizance of their behaviour. A resolution is taken to oblige them to come to order ; and they deceive themselves if they hope that the king will change his mind, or that I shall neglect to execute the precise orders his majesty has sent me on this head. Nevertheless, to shew them that I will not act rigorously till they force me to it, I grant them a farther delay, to the end that those who have taken the alarm may have time to recover from their pannick, and return to their houses, to cultivate the lands and get in the harvest.

This delay was worthy of a wise and humane magistrate, such as the Intendant is ; but being of short duration it answered no valuable end ; the persecution was as violent as before, and the consequence took place which the magistrate seemed most solicitous to prevent. The houses were again forsaken, and the deserts peopled ; the lands were uncultivated, manufactures were laid aside, and trade stood still. As a suspension of severity wrought no change in their ideas ; as the religion of the Protestants still remained what it was ; as those reasons which made them risque imprisonment and all the severities with which the government threatens such as disobey in the point in question, were still of equal force ; the same steps could not but be taken again, in the same circumstances. Those who fly from their habitations, cannot mistake the danger to which they expose themselves : that danger will present itself to their imagination in the most frightful shapes ; humane nature will shrink and shudder at it : but the fear of offending God by violating his laws, and drawing down chastisements on themselves much more to be dreaded than the sentence of any humane tribunals, will make them disregard all that men can do to them. Can it be possible that the forsaking of their dwellings is owing to obstinacy and a spirit of disobedience ? The Protestants must then be the most infatuated of the human species, the greatest enemies to themselves that the sun ever shone upon. But, by being Protestants, do they cease to be men ? Have they not the same notions as others, in all things that concern self-preservation,

* The third canon of the *Council of Trent* hath thus decreed concerning baptism : ' If any man say, that baptism conferred by heretics in the name of the father, son and holy ghost, with an intention to do what the church does, is not a true or valid baptism, let him be accursed.'

servation, liberty, ease and tranquility? Let us then think better of them, and acknowledge that their conduct is framed upon nobler principles.

The loyalty of these people to their prince is so steady, that it does not forsake them even in the midst of their greatest sufferings, in the darkest and filthiest dungeons; an instance of which happened in October last.

The miscreant curate that set fire to his church (as was related in the first article of this memorial) entered into a conspiracy with some other villains of his stamp, to murder the commanding officer at Brescou and the whole garrison, in order to release themselves from the confinement they so justly deserved: But as they could not put their design in execution without disclosing it to five or six Protestants detained in the same castle on account of their religion, they spared no pains to engage them in the plot, endeavouring above all things to persuade them that it was the only opportunity they could ever hope to enjoy of delivering themselves from the misery of a jail: But the more earnestly these villains pressed the matter, the more did those innocent victims of oppression shew their detestation of it; they not only solemnly protested against this horrible conspiracy, but gave information of it, and by that step saved the lives of the officer and his little garrison. It may not be amiss to mention here another instance of the same kind, though of a much earlier date. The 21st of May 1705, divers Protestants, confined on the score of religion in the castle of St. Peter en Cyse, refused to stir out of their cells; when the count de Barre a gentleman of Savoye, Mr. de la Place treasurer of St. Julian, the chevalier de Marfontaine a gentleman of Macon, and some other Roman catholicks, all detained in the said castle for altering and counterfeiting the coin of the kingdom, cut the throat of Mr. de Marville, the governor, mastered the guards of the castle, and made their escape. See the *Historical Mercury*, for the month of June, No. VII.

Other proofs of their loyalty are contained in the following authentic pieces.

APPEN-

APPENDIX. No. III.

Extract from the acts of the national synod of the reformed churches of France, assembled in the desert in the lower Languedoc, from Tuesday the 11th of August 1744, to Friday the 21st of the same month.

“ **A**FTER having read the word of God, and implored the assistance of the Holy Ghost, all the members of the synod made the sincerest and strongest protestations of their inviolable fidelity to his majesty ; and declared that they assembled with no other view than to establish themselves more and more in their loyalty, to banish from amongst them all differences that might tend to disturb the publick tranquillity and the peace of their churches, and also to make regulations for the use of the said churches.”

ARTICLE I.

“ **A** Fast shall be kept in all the reformed churches of this kingdom the 13th of December next, for the preservation of his majesty's sacred person, the success of his arms, a cessation of war, and the deliverance of the church.”

ARTICLE II.

“ **A**lthough (God be praised for it) neither our pastors nor our flocks stand in need of exhortations to remain steadfast in the sentiments of fidelity and obedience that are due to our sovereign, the inclinations of their hearts perfectly agreeing with the precepts which enjoin that duty ; nevertheless, seeing it cannot be too much inculcated, the assembly, following the example of the apostle, who bid his disciple Titus *put the faithful in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, &c.* has therefore ordered, that all pastors shall, at least once a year, make a sermon on this subject, &c. &c.”

“ The session of Thursday August 20, being over, as the assembly was about to break up, a member of the synod having communicated a letter he had just received, containing the melancholy news of the king's illness, they all fell upon their knees and made a fervent prayer to God for his recovery.”

“ Then

“ Then the synod decreed, that publick Prayers to the same purpose should be made as soon as possible in every church, and circular letters for that purpose should be immediately sent to all the pastors and elders.”

Extract from the acts of the national synod of the reformed churches of France, assembled under the divine protection in the desert in Cevennes, from Wednesday September 11th, to Wednesday the 18th of the same month.

“ **A**FTER imploring the protection of God and the assistance of the Holy Ghost, the assembly unanimously made protestations of their inviolable fidelity to his majesty our august monarch, and declared that their design was only to strengthen and confirm themselves in these just sentiments, as also to take the properest measures for promoting the glory of God and the edification of his church.”

ARTICLE III.

“ **A** Petition shall be presented to the king, in the name of all the Protestants in the kingdom, in which, after renewing the assurances of our loyalty and obedience, and briefly relating our deplorable circumstances, we will most humbly beseech his majesty to have compassion upon us, and order some mitigation of our sufferings; and then conclude with ardent and sincere wishes in favour of his sacred person and august family, and for the glory and prosperity of his reign.”

Letter of Paul Robaut, a Protestant minister, dated November 22, 1746, and written on occasion of the invasion of Provence, by the Austrian army, under the command of field marshal count Brown; the French court having then betrayed strong apprehensions that the Protestants of Languedoc and other southern provinces of France, would have joined the invaders.

“ **I** Hereby inform you that the Intendant of Montpellier has sent a Protestant gentleman to confer with my colleagues and with me, in order to know what our sentiments are concerning the fidelity and obedience due to the sovereign; to engage us to incline our people to the practice of this duty, and not give ear to the English emissaries that are in the country, as some pretend; and in short, to induce us to write on these heads to the Intendant, who has promised to forward our letters to the court. I was the first minister applied to; and after a pretty

pretty long conference with the Commissary, I wrote the letter required, which was as follows :

My Lord,

“**W**HEN I devoted myself to the functions of a Protestant minister in this kingdom, I was not insensible of the danger I exposed myself to ; and accordingly looked upon myself as a victim marked out for death. No human considerations could induce me to take up with such an employment ; for besides that there can be nothing more melancholy, in the opinion of the world, than the manner in which the ministers of the desert pass their time, life is the most valuable of all temporal enjoyments, and no advantages of this world can induce a rational being to make sacrifice of it. Being convinced that the greatest service a man can do his Neighbour, is to instruct him in the knowledge of his duties, and to engage him to the performance of it, I thought I should do the greatest good I was capable of, by devoting myself to the office of pastor. Ignorance is the death of the soul, and the source of a multitude of crimes. The Protestants being debarred from the exercise of their religion, believing that they cannot in conscience assist at the exercises of the Romish religion, and not being permitted to use the books that are necessary for their instruction ; I leave you, my lord, to judge, what their condition would be, if they were absolutely destitute of pastors. They would be ignorant of their most essential duties ; they would either fall into fanaticism, that fertile source of extravagance and disorder, or into indifference and a contempt of all religion. If menaces and severe usage should extort from them a profession of the national faith, it would only be the profession of hypocrites, who would inwardly detest their outward appearance. But could the government depend upon hypocrites, and men without religion ? Nay, what mischiefs might not be apprehended from them ?”

“ Your lordship is not insensible that the ministry of the pastors in a great measure obviates these evils and inconveniences. For my own part, I have not been sparing of the most solid instructions to those that have been committed to my care : I have laboured chiefly after grounding them in the fundamental points of religion, to inculcate upon them the important duties of morality : I have made discourses expressly on the loyalty and obedience due to the sovereign ; and both in public and in private, in my sermons and in my prayers, I have shewed my people how firmly I was persuaded of the indispensable necessity of this duty, and have taught them to practise it by my

own example ; flattering myself that by this I not only promoted the salvation of my brethren, but was contributing, as is my duty, to the good of the state.

“ Let not your lordship harbour any apprehensions at this juncture, that my conduct will alter in the least, or give the lye to the former part of my life. It is through Inclination, as well as duty, that I have exhorted the Protestants to be loyal and obedient to our august monarch; in which I will persevere, especially on this occasion; and I doubt not but my colleagues will do the same. I only wait for the recovery of my health, to put a hand to the work again. It is true that the Protestants have been great sufferers in divers provinces of the kingdom, either in their persons, in their children, or in their fortunes; and this may be sufficient cause to fear, that the exhortations of the pastors will not be altogether successful: But your lordship must give me leave to say, that no pains have been spared on our parts to train them up to submission, patience, and a contempt of worldly enjoyments; that we have laboured to convince them, that fidelity to the sovereign is a prime duty of our religion, and that none of us can excuse himself from the practice of it: So that there is reason to hope they will not wholly shake it off. This I can affirm for truth, that if his majesty would allow the Protestants the liberty of having pastors, to celebrate their marriages, baptize their children, and perform the other ministerial offices of their religion, only in the desert, they would be ready to do all that men can do to demonstrate their gratitude and their attachment to his person: Nay, I dare say, that were they to be employed in repelling the enemies of the state, they would fill the world with the fame of their exploits: and Louis XV. would be no less charmed with their bravery, than Henry the great was with that of their forefathers.”

I have the honour to be with the most profound respect, &c.

“ The very day that I wrote this letter (continues Mr. Robaut) Mr. Vernefabre wrote another, the contents of which I am ignorant of. They were both delivered to the Commissary, who sent them away the same day to Montpellier. A few days after I had a meeting with my colleagues; and as the Commissary was charged to see every one of us, I gave him notice of the time and place of rendezvous. He came accordingly, and after he had produced his commission, we made some reflexions upon it, and agreed to write a letter to the Intendant, which Mr. Claris drew up, and which we all subscribed. The contents of it were, as near as I can recollect, That we nei-

ther

ther knew those men whom they called emissaries, nor had heard any mention made of them: That we had always exhorted, and on every occasion did still exhort our flocks to patience under afflictions, and to submission and obedience to the sovereign: And that we would never depart from this gospel precept, *Fear God and honour the King.*"

"The Commissary, after he had left us, set out for Anduze. He saw Mess. Boyer, La Ferriere, &c. who also delivered letters to him; after which he proceeded to Montpellier, where he waited on the Intendant, and gave him an account of his commission. The Intendant seemed very well satisfied with our letters, and, as we are assured, sent them up to court."

But all their protestations of loyalty and affection to their king, all their professions of submission and obedience, avail them nothing: The persecutions are still carried on, and the government discovers a fixed resolution to make them conform to the Romish church, or totally to extirpate them. Great numbers have fled into foreign parts within these few months, and more are daily flying. It has not yet been possible to collect exact accounts of the proceedings against them since the beginning of this Year; but the reader may form an idea of their present lamentable situation from the contents of the following letters.

APPENDIX. No. IV.

A letter from a Protestant gentleman at Q--- in Languedoc, dated April the 17th, 1752.

MOST melancholy is the news I am going to relate to you. The harvest, for the last seasons have been so fruitless, that the whole country is in a state of inexpressible poverty. The crop of silk-worms which used to bring in such considerable sums has entirely failed for the last three years; as have the other crops of corn, wine, and oil. Happy are we however that we are supplied with corn from foreign countries; without which the people must have been quite destroyed by famine: For every thing sells at an exorbitant price, and two thirds of our town with incessant labour can scarcely procure subsistence. But was this the whole of our calamity we could patiently bear it: We are every day loaded with fresh taxes, and continually obliged to pay new fines imposed upon us on account of our religious assemblies. Mr. Tempié, the Intendant's deputy, came down the 29th of December last to the place called the Roqual (near which our Protestant brethren held an assembly) in order to condemn the whole place in the sum of 1216*l.* 16*s.* which we have been obliged to pay without delay. But what is more afflictive, which I cannot mention without tears and a heart full of grief, they have seized upon one Mr. Benezet, a native of Montpellier, who was going to be admitted propoſant, *i. e.* *Candidate of Divinity*, for the country of the Cevennes.—He was stopped at the Vigan, the 30th of January, by a party of dragoons, and sent from thence to Montpellier with an escorte of four hundred men horse and foot, and confined in the citadel. The 27th of March, at two in the afternoon, he was hanged. He died with the most resigned, pious and edifying dispositions; so that the executioner himself could not help saying, That he did not hang a man but an angel. Another most lamentable piece of news is, that on the 17th of March in the night, the Rev. Mr. John Molines, called Flechier, native of Genvuillac's parish; a most worthy divine, eminent for his fine genius and great abilities, was arrested at Marfillargues: The same day he was sent to Montpellier, together with his wife

a lady of quality, and her daughter, besides another gentleman of the same place. They were all put into the citadel, where they are closely confined; but nothing is said about the trial. That minister receives visits from the most considerable people of the city, who are highly satisfied with his character and improving conversation. The rector of our lady visits him frequently, but not a word of controversy passes between them. There is a Roman catholick gentleman, who says he would gladly bestow his own blood to save his; and if three millions of livres could purchase his liberty, he would oblige himself to raise that sum. All our brethern are deeply concerned and greatly alarmed at the seizure of that minister. In general we are all in a most dreadful condition. The persecution is so industriously kindled against us throughout the kingdom, that we are in continual dread of the misery that the next moment may bring upon us. In this province we are threatened especially with respect to the marriages and baptism which have been solemnized in our own assemblies. These the Papists insist upon being solemnized again in their churches; and some of our brethern have been prevailed upon through fear to submit themselves to this imposition; particularly in the Low Country, at Marfillargues, Le Queila, Condougnan, and many other places; whither dragoons have been sent to force them to a compliance.

The consequence is, that they are obliged to go to mass; or to suffer imprisonment and the galleys; even those that are taken up, and submit as to the marriages and baptisms, cannot redeem their liberty, but by paying 500 livres, for every child christened, and 1000 for every marriage solemnized by Protestant ministers, besides the fees and costs of suit, which sometimes amount to 500 livres more. Doubtless a vast number of us will quit the kingdom: For while we are obnoxious to these inquisitions about marriages and baptisms, we cannot but groan under the most melancholy apprehensions. May the Almighty providence dispose every thing for the best. We all confess that our ingratitude has rendered us unworthy of the Divine favour. I earnestly desire you will join your fervent prayers to God, that he would please to calm his anger towards us, and favour us with happier days.

Copy of a letter from a place near Nimes, in Languedoc, dated May 10, 1752.

ON the 30th of January last, Mr. Francis Benezet, who was desirous of being admitted a minister in the province of the Lower Cevennes, but not being sufficiently qualified,

had resolved to retire into some other country, was arrested by the dragoons of the Vigan, in an inn where he had retired with Mr. P——, minister in the said province, and the 7th of the following month he was conducted to Montpellier under a guard of four or five hundred dragoons.

“ About the same time, an officer of dragoons, who commanded a troop at Cailare, a borough of 250 houses, three leagues from Nîmes, whose inhabitants were mostly Protestants, resolved to oblige those parents whose children had been baptized in the desert, to have them baptized again in the Romish church. With this intent he ordered his troop to take arms, and placing himself at the head of it, entered the houses of the protestants, threatening to kill them if they refused to comply. Above thirty persons who, at the peril of their lives, refused, were conducted to prison; the rest had recourse to flight, carrying away their children whom they hid in the neighbouring villages, to prevent the execution of the sacrilegious orders of this inhuman officer, who finding himself at liberty to dispose of the children whose parents were captives or fugitives, had them conveyed to church, where they were rebaptized amidst the laughter and buffooneries of the dragoons and papists. When they re-baptized the children, they resolved to celebrate a-new the marriages which had been solemnized in the desert, and all that could be apprehended were dragged to mass: nothing could be imagined more impious or violent; those unhappy wretches not knowing what to do, betook themselves to flight, some of whom are since returned, but the greatest number are still fugitives; and many are fled into foreign countries, forsaking their houses and all their substance.

“ The 17th of March Mr. Flechier, minister in the Lower Languedoc, was arrested by the dragoons, at Marfillargues, and conducted in the evening with his wife, his daughter, and a gentleman of the neighbourhood, to Montpellier, and confined in the citadel of that city. About the same time six men and six women, taken at their religious assemblies, were tried and condemned, the men to the galleys, the women to be confined in the tower of Constances. A few days before, they arrested the keeper of the inn where Mr. Benezet was taken, and he was conducted to Montpellier with a gentleman of the Vigan. The 27th of March Mr. Benezet was tried and condemned to be hanged, which sentence was the more surprising, as being neither minister nor a propoſant, it was expected he would at most be sentenced to the galleys. All this you may imagine has much afflicted us, though we have been in the midst of our affliction

fiction comforted and edified, by the manner in which Mr. Benezet suffered martyrdom: he was born of protestant parents, but losing them very young, he unhappily embraced the Romish tenents, and in his fifteenth year received the sacrament according to the rites of that communion; but he soon perceived his errors, returned to the Protestants, and followed Mr. — to the desert. When his sentence was read, he shed some tears, but immediately recovering himself, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and said, in the presence of his Judges, *O God forgive me my weakness*. Among many ecclesiastics, who had constantly beset him since he was arrested, in hopes to gain him over, two Jesuits immediately approached to make the last attempt, but he desired them to retire and let him employ, as he judged proper, the few moments allowed him to prepare for death; which desire they refused to comply with. When he was taken out of prison to be brought to the place of execution, Mr. Flechier, who was confined near the prison, and who guessed by the noise what was transacting, looked through the bars of the window, and seeing Mr. Benezet, he cried out to him, ‘ be stout, my brother, you have ‘ but one step to heaven; fight to the end the good fight, keep ‘ your faith, and you shall receive the crown of righteousness ‘ which is prepared for you; sing a psalm;’ which the martyr hearing, he began to sing the 51st psalm, and being reproved by the Major of the citadel, he told him with resolution, *Do your duty, I do mine*. When he was at the foot of the gallows, he kneeled and prayed to God with a great deal of zeal, then went up the ladder, and being followed by one of the abovementioned Jesuits, who presented him with his crucifix to kiss, he repulsed him with disdain; and after a short prayer, desired the executioner to turn him off. So died Mr. Benezet, gloriously, and like a Christian, with a courage, a modesty, a mildness, a serenity and holy joy, which greatly edified the witnesses of his martyrdom.—I suppose you have heard of what has happened at Montauban; thirty persons are condemned, the men to the gallies, the women to the house of correction in Cahors. Though we have seen here three of our prisoners released, yet they endeavour to destroy us entirely, indeed not with so much precipitation, but without intermission.”

Translation of a letter, dated at Q—— in Languedoc, June the 24th, 1752.

OUR affairs become more serious, and the persecution is fiercer than ever. The Papiſts demanded abjuration from all thoſe who have been married, or have had their children baptized in our religious aſſemblies. Theſe Barbarians ſeize upon fathers, mothers, and children, and force them into the Romiſh churches, violently beating them with ſticks or the muzzles of their guns: it is piercing to hear the lamentable ſhrieks of the poor Proteſtants, when they fall into the hands of theſe remorseleſs bigots. Thoſe who have been ſo happy as to eſcape, have indeed avoided this barbarous treatment. But they have fallen into new diſtreſs very little inferior. For having ſaved no part of their goods in the precipitate flight, they are now wandering from place to place, till the charity of mankind ſhall make a collection in their favour, and enable them to retire into ſome foreign country, where they may procure peace for their ſouls.

The method which the Romaniſts take to bring to their churches thoſe whoſe baptiſm or marriage has been ſolemnized in our ſacred aſſemblies, is this; they ſend bailiffs to the place marked out for deſtruction, with troopers of the marſhalſea, who ſignify publicly to the Proteſtants, that in three days they ſhall bring their children to the church, in order that they may have a ſecond baptiſm, or in caſe of reſuſal be ſubjected to the ſevereſt penalties; and accordingly, if the children do not appear, five or ſix troopers are quartered at diſcretion upon the houſes of the parents. There is no day paſſes but it coſts theſe unhappy people, either in ready money, or in expences for the troopers and their horſes, thirty-fix livres *per diem*: and if at laſt their children do not ſurrender, their whole eſtates are confiscated.

The marriages of thoſe who reſuſe to have them ſolemnized again in the Romiſh church, are diſſolved: the huſbands are for ever ſeparated from their wives, the children are proclaimed baſtards, and the mothers whores. The children are ſeized, and ſent to Montpellier to a Popiſh ſchool, ſupported there by the income of the fathers fortunes. Such are the cruelties which the Papiſts are practiſing all over Languedoc. They ravage one place after another; they have gone through the villages and boroughs of the Low Country, and are now at the town of Sommiere: not one place is free from their incurſions. In the mean while trade

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is intirely stopt, no payments are made, no sale of goods is to be obtained, even at a loss ; the province is in the utmost consternation."

It is to be observed, that those who have been married again in the Romish church, are ever after deemed Roman Catholics; and consequently obliged to go to mass ; or in case of omission are considered as relapsers, and sent directly to prison or to the galleys.

It is also to be observed, that by the edict of his most Christian majesty given at Versailles the 17th of January 1750. (see No. I. of this Appendix) The commander in chief, or in his absence the Intendant, is empowered to pronounce definitively and in the last resort against the Protestants in all cases of religion: so that they are intirely given up to the caprice, resentment, or rapacity of the Intendant, without the help or comfort of any tribunal upon earth, and without any hopes of redress, but from that God *who judgeth all things righteously ; and who will render to every man according to his deeds ; to them who by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life ; but to them that are contentious, and do obey not the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath ; tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doth evil.*

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APPENDIX. No. V.

A LETTER from the curate of L—— to the Lord Bishop of Agen, occasioned by the letter which that prelate wrote to the comptroller general against the tollerating of Hugonots in France.

My LORD,

SUFFER a plain curate, not known to your lordship, and of a Diocess somewhat distant from that which providence hath entrusted to your care, to take the liberty to speak his mind of a letter which you have wrote to the comptroller general against the tollerating Hugonots in this Kingdom. Your name, your dignity, your eloquence, and above all, the Importance of the matter, occasioned me to enquire for your Letter with the greatest earnestness. Agreeably surprized that at a conjuncture, when our lords the prelates are so engaged in defending the immunities of the clergy and to maintain their temporalities, a Bishop who distinguisheth himself on this splendid scene finds leizure enough to take in hand *the cause of the Church and of religion itself*. I left nothing unattempted that with my own eyes I might see so rare a phenomenon; and tho' I met with some difficulty in finding a copy of your letter I have at length succeeded.

I am assured that on its first appearance the Hugonots snatched it up with incredible ardor; conceiving, that since your Lordship had wrote to hinder their being tollerated, there certainly must have been some project on foot at court favourable to them; but on seeing the three lines from the comptroller general in answer, they looked no longer on the part you acted in it, than as the bitter fruit of a report spread by ill minded people, intending to rouze up that zeal against them, the effects of which are painted in the blackest colours.

My age and my experience authorise me to tell you ingeniously, my lord, that I should have been glad, either that your letter had not seen the light, or that it had been wrote in another stile. Since about thirty years that I have received the Order of Priesthood, and that to fulfil the duty of a ministry, which your lordship cannot be quite ignorant requires some pains and attention, I have closely studied the genius of the christian religion, and the manner in which it must be preached, to do it with success, I never could perceive that violence and haughty airs succeeded. Descanting on it in certain strains

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may render one remarkable, and qualify him in the eyes of Rome, for a head worthy to be adorned with a scarlet hat; but it doth not perswade, much less doth it edifie; far from aluring, it enrages.

I confess, my lord, that it doth not appear by your language that you have any design to make converts among the Calvinists. From the manner in which you paint them, we should be surprized did you condescend so low. Your letter must be viewed in its true point of light. I look upon it as vehement phillipick, which a sudden fear of seeing the Hugonots favoured, protected, perhaps recalled for the advantage of Trade and Manufactures, hath forced from you.

Such an apprehension was undoubtedly humbling to a Bishop, who regards these people as irreconcilable enemies to Episcopacy. You have been disturbed by it; your terrified imagination immediately represented all the horrors of the religious wars which smeared France with blood *for seventy years, and brought the Kingdom more than once, within two inches of its Ruin.*

Tho' you do not expressly say it, it may be perceived that in calling to mind HENRY the GREAT, probably, *deprived of the throne, if he had not embraced the religion of his Ancestors,* you have trembled for LEWIS THE WELL-BELOVED, if he should not persecute the Calvinists; *so much the love of our religion imprinted in the bottom of the hearts of the French, is capable to move and lead them in all things, for his preservation and for his glory.*

In this spirit, and in the midst of the agitations wherein those reflections had cast you, it was altogether natural that you should take the pen; and being the first apprized of the danger, you should signalise your zeal in raising your voice and all your strength. In vain we look upon your fears as chimerical, and your alarms as pannick terrors: affected with the object as you appear to have been, it was not possible that you should speak with calmness. Heavy strokes are not given without great emotion. You merit this justice, that looking on the calvinists as execrable people, and their religion as a sect which opens the door to all crimes, you could not but ring out to alarm all France for the consequences of their return, and to blow up that holy zeal against them which enflames all those among the Catholicks who resemble you.

Your letter, proceeding from this principle, my lord, ought certainly to pass for a master piece in the eyes of many people. It is altogether of a piece, every thing suitable, both the stile and the matter. What Assemblage of facts! what
energy

energy of expression! what strength in the strokes! what life in the colours! It is every where fire, or something hotter. But every one doth not think as you do, on this matter; thence it comes that there is such a variety of meanings put on the reasonings you deduce from it, and on the manner in which you express them. I find myself affected; I must, my lord, acknowledge it: and as it may happen, that when you take pen in hand to give a new edition of your letter, you may think proper to make some alterations in it, I persuade myself that you will take it well, if I warn you freely of certain things which it is expected that you would retouch, whether it be to soften them, to cast some light upon them, or, perhaps, even to set them right.

We presently discover that you give a terrifying Idea of the calvinists and their religion. You represent them as *factionous*; as *pernicious subjects*, ever *seditionous and in league with the enemies of their country*; as *a people whose religion sanctifies vice, authorises disorder, dissolves engagements, breaks the band of Faith, leaves to every one the liberty to do what he pleases, and to worship as he thinks fit*. But hath this portrait any likeness? Is nothing more required to render the Hugonots odious, but to draw so hateful a picture? How can you prove, my lord, that their religion sanctifies vice? Where is it that it authorises disorder? In what country doth it leave to every one the liberty to do what he pleases? And if every one of them may worship as he thinks fit, what appearance hath it, that they should expose themselves to all extremities, rather than join in ours? I apprehend that this passage of your letter gives unlucky ideas of the uprightness of your heart. Assuredly it will be taxed with calumny, and you may find yourself in some difficulties.

It is true you give a masterly picture of the horrors that the civil war produced, of which religion was either the cause or the pretext. I admire the address and swiftness with which your pen passes over the furies of the league, and sets aside even the names of persons and things, which at that time armed the Hugonots and drove them to extremities. A common writer would have spoiled all by indiscreet panegyrics on the Guise's, in joining his approbation to the praises with which a great Pope honoured the bloody triumphs of the Eve of St. Bartholemew. You glide over all this with infinite grace. The politicks of cardinal Richlieu, appear from your pencil with an air of religion

ligion which enchants us ; and I doubt if any author before you, ever placed in so good a light that unshaken firmness with which LEWIS XIV. maintained the severity of his edicts *to purge his kingdom of the vicious and peccant humours which had made such ravage in it.* Tho' the bleeding was great, tho' the remedy was violent, tho' the hands which administered it were somewhat rough, it appears plain to every one who sees with your eyes that all this was absolutely necessary. Above all things I love that part of your letter wherein you have so delicately opened the unexpected resources, found by France in the friendship of Queen ANN, and I return you, my lord, a thousand thanks for me and for my friends, for the discovery which you would draw from the secret negotiations of that time ; on the earnest solicitations which the ministers of that great queen, then made for the restoring the refugees. What contrast ! LEWIS XIV. *acknowledged the usurper of England,* and trampled under foot all those who were favoured by that prince. QUEEN ANN, on the contrary, betrayed the cause of the refugees and *earnestly solicited* for them. Then LEWIS XV. worthy imitator of the royal virtues of his great-grand father, far from giving ear to any solicitations in favour of these bad subjects, ought rather to grant all, risk all, than give over the project of exterminating them finally. Surely nothing can be better argued ; there cannot be a consequence more just.

Undoubtedly, you will be surprised that after this confession, I dare to improve the vivacity of the expressions which your lordship makes use of to characterise the calvinists. But, my lord, consider of it. In setting them forth as people so detestible, you engage in this hateful judgment, I will not say, some among your ancestors ; that would offend your impartiality. You would engage an infinite number of worthy Frenchmen, gentlemen of merit, princes of the first rank, of whom calvinism was the religion ; and who sacrificed every thing to it. You dishonour them in being what you are ; you tarnish their memory : and that, which will strike you, perhaps, the most, you give the lye directly to many repeated declarations of our kings, which are full of the most advantageous evidences of the virtue of the Hugonots and their faithful Patriotism. Gentler strokes would have preserved you from these reproaches, they would have more advantaged your zeal, and would not have offended your penetration.

Believe

Believe me my Lord, people are surpris'd, concern'd, shocked to the last degree at what you say, particularly, concerning the revocation of the Edict of Nants. Why would you harp on this string? Wherefore insist so much on the pretended wisdom of those reasons which determin'd to strike this remarkable stroke? Why would you disturb the minds of people at a time when all endeavours are used to set them at rest; to persuade that was the thing to be done; undoubtedly, neither would the Edict be broke, nor those severe Edicts, which are enforced with regret, stand in its place? Where was the necessity to obstruct all those gentler measures which a beloved Prince would prefer? And, at the same time, where is the prudence to bring in question whether LEWIS XV. hath more reason to regard the Edicts of LEWIS XIV, than LEWIS XIV, had to regard the Edicts of HENRY IV? We have been so often put to the blush on the sworn irrevocability of the Edict of Nants, that silence is our only refuge on this capital affair.

To support your sentiments, my Lord, you make use of an argument, which in its recoil may prove a little dangerous. You say, *that if one would closely consider the principles of Calvinism, it will be found that they are not only opposite to all religions whatever they be, but, moreover, they are enemies to Kings and opposite to monarchy.* It is, you say, *a singular character and what ought to be abhorred beyond all other Heresies.* Let us not examine too closely into the meaning of these surprising words, that the principles of Calvinism are opposite to all Religions, whatever they be. Do you apprehend no kind of embarrassment to yourself, in accusing the Hugonots of being enemies to Kings through principle? As for me, I apprehend, least this accusation may awaken some ancient complaints against the doctrine of certain casuists amongst ourselves. Your Lordship understands me. I tremble least the murderers of our Kings should be brought forward on the stage. It may be demanded of you, if the Clements, the Chatels, the Ravaillacs were Hugonots? You may be called upon to tell, whether Mariana and the like of him were Calvinists.

We understand from you, that *all the disputes occasioned by the other sects, passed away among Divines and in writings ——— whereas, scarce had Calvinism appeared in the world, but we saw every kingdom overwhelmed by their maxims and by their arms.* We may suppose, nevertheless, that when you come to be answered, you will be told, that they took
up

up no arms but for their defence; or that they will recriminate in calling to mind the odious proceedings in which the Catholicks have at sometimes rendered themselves blameable. You call history and books to your assistance. But in this you are not exceeding fortunate. The first fact alledged by you is the revolt of the Low Countries. *The Republick of Holland, say you, is the produce of Heresy and Rebellion. The faction of the Gueux, supported and conducted by the Policy and Valour of the Princes of Orange, hath withdrawn from the Spanish subjection those powerful provinces, who had ever been obedient to their Sovereign.* Will every one agree to this, my Lord? Do you not fear that it will be demonstrably proved, that the dread of the Inquisition, the multiplying Bishopricks and the burden of imposts, occasioned the faction of the Gueux, before ever the novelties of Calvinism had infected them? All authors of repute agree to it. And what would you have? That this people should be fled, That the Nobility of the Country should submit to the yoke along with them, without daring to defend their liberty. Did they, at their beginning, speak higher than our Lords the Clergy have just now done to defend the immunities of the Church? and do you know of no Bishop, who on this occasion hath borrowed the language of the States of the Low Countries, against the enterprises of their Sovereign. It is true that among the Hugonots, they are pretty full of the idea that *the King is the Man of the People*: But I do not think that they have carried the matter so far as to teach, as your Lordship assures, that *a meer disgust to the person of a Prince, sufficiently authorises the people to wrest from him the authority which they had deposited with him.* I ever fear they may complain, that you are lending them an opinion which they had not before. All I can be sure of in this matter is, that *in persuading that it is of more advantage to serve God than Man*, they are generally of this principle, that such an opinion is not injurious to Kings. You have done very well, my Lord, not to expose this branch of their seditious sentiments. It might encline some in their favour; because it is not of a piece with the Character you have found of Calvinism, *to be opposite to all Religions*, for it hath a very religious and even a christian appearance. For what remains, it doth not become me to frame Lessons for a Bishop on that which Sovereigns owe to their people. The matter is too delicate to be taken up by such hands as mine. But, my Lord, will you permit me to give you advice.

Condescend

Condescend so far as to read a Romance. Take the *Telemachus* of the incomparable FENELON: or what is better Read, Study, Meditate the fine *Directions* of this great Arch Bishop *for the Conscience of a King*, and after that, attack the Hugonots, who are bold enough to pretend that *the King is the Man of the People*.

Although to despise the Authority of the Church, is certainly a great fault, yet it doth not immediately appear, that from little Reverence to Episcopacy arises an hatred to Monarchy. I am very glad that your Lordship hath not much insisted upon that. Not that I see the Hugonots of those times times much incensed against Episcopacy. On the contrary I have had opportunity in my travels to be convinced that their Ministers would be as well pleased as ourselves to become Bishops. But it is proper that the People should know that in *Questions which arise concerning Faith, the Church, wisely instructed in the precepts of its Founder, leaves them no other choice to make but that of submission to Bishops*. Truly it well becomes *the Woman who ought not to open her lips in the Church*, to examine what she is to believe, and to judge, if that which is proposed to her be conformable to the Word of God and to common sense. It would be pretty to see an *artizan busied in his trade*, neglect his profession to study the Holy Scripture; and a *Labourer, without knowledge, without learning, without principles, employ himself in reasoning upon Religion*! In time such people would undertake to *examine the Bible, to reconcile texts, to discuss the most profound principles of Divinity*. As much as to say that commentaries and Theological treatises were made to be read and understood by the common people, and that where one Bishop says *White*; and another Bishop *Black*, we are bound to believe *Black and White both together*.

As for me, My Lord, I am firm; and never shall give ground in this respect. Yet we know, the common people; your Agenois may be the first to exert themselves; who knows but they may forget themselves so far as to endine to examine your Letter and judge if it be good reasoning? We are undone for ever if the right of examining be granted to plain Christians: we must turn all our attention to this point; without we take care, they will understand the Scriptures, enquire into tradition: They will satisfy themselves of the distinguishing marks of the True Church. A Curate will be heard from his Desk as if he was to prove every thing he says. We shall no longer teach Catechisms as to Parrots; We

must ever explain, ever speak intelligibly; And what will be the Consequence of all this? If your Lordship will not tell, the thing will speak for itself and say, that we will not any longer be believed. For my part, to free ourselves entirely from those airs of examination and curiosity, which the People have presumed to take upon them, let us determine to Catechize and Preach in Latin, to write Pastoral Letters in Greek and Mandats in Hebrew.

As to the Calvinists I foresee that, through a Spirit of contention, they will have no relish for your reflections. Your Lordship shews admirably well that from their principles is born that multitude of Sects which divide them. But they are a sort of People who can reply, that this is an unavoidable Evil; but that it is better to have mistakes than stupidity, and bad reasoners than hypocrites. Besides, our differences furnish them with a retort, with these they head their forces. They have ever the word Jansenism in their mouths, and, to speak freely, I am put into a sweat, whenever they push me on this question. Besides, wherefore hath the infallibility of our Church so little effect? In China, they believe the Popes to be infallible and yet they despise their Bulls. In France the Bishops excommunicate the Jansenists, and all the country is full of them. In Holland, it is a formal perpetuated Schism. What shall we say, what reply to these considerations? When will it be, that our Lords the Prelates will shut the mouths, *by their decrees*, of those who propose them? Must we never attack the Sects which have arisen from Calvinism, till there be no more Sects among ourselves.

Your Lordship seems plainly to have intended to amuse the Reader and leave him no time to fix his mind on those reflections, when going further and with the rapidity of Lightning you proceed to an accusation of more weight. *This is not all*, you continue, *that multitude of Sects which swarms in all parts hath brought Irreligion along with it. The Countries where Calvinism is established are filled with Deists, with Atheists and unbelievers.* Good God! How gloriously would the Catholicks be distinguished, if Irreligion was only to be found among the Hugonots, or even if it predominated there, more than in our own bosoms; But my Lord, What is it you have said? What Rome! Paris! -----! I am silent. Shame and Grief have seized me. I recollect with emotion what was said by Father Mersenne, that in his time our Capital inclosed within its walls above sixty thousand Atheists. Are there fewer at this day? From
whence

whence proceeds the most impious and infamous books? Is it in things of this nature that our France gives place to Holland and Great Britain? Is it Geneva that brings forth that deluge of Profane writings of which our Illustrious Arch-Bishop of Paris hath so bitterly deplored the encrease in his mandat on the Jubilee? Is it the hands of Hugonots which produced *the Malabar Princess, the Natural History of the Soul, the Essay on Pleasure, Man a Machine, the Philosophical thoughts, the Happy Life, the Female Philosopher*, and many the like horrors? Suppress, My Lord, Suppress instantly, that part of your letter, which cannot fail to draw on you such mortifying Questions. We are already but too much embarrassed to answer some doubts of the Pyrohnists to which our Principles lead. On one hand the labyrinth of Tradition, on the other the endless disputes concerning infallibility, besides the terrifying depths of some of our Catholick Mysteries, must naturally expect to find great opposition, especially in Philosophical minds. Hence doubts, scepticism, Incredulity, Deism. You know the World, My Lord; You know it, in this respect, much better than I; But lay your account for it; the Hugonots know it as well as you.

In other respects your Lordship seems well acquainted with the pretexts, these last have dared to alledge in excuse for their excesses. In our province they never cease to declare that it was despair which rendred some among them Fanatics and Rebels at the beginning of this century; and it is this that they would have been glad that you had discovered. The pretty little anecdote which you relate on the affair of *Sacheverel*, is rather a digression than an Argument. It diverts, but it makes up nothing in the account which might be expected from your Lordship. We are charmed to know at last, the true springs of the Peace in 1713; and already the Comedy which the Whigs presented to Queen Ann, on the occasion of *Sacheverel's* Sermon, has appeared to some of our Politicians a most lucky discovery. It was doubtless among the *secret negotiations* of the times that you found all this---Behold how sometimes it happens, that a Nothing brings forth the greatest revolutions. The Publick ever imagine some extraordinary causes, but those alone who hold the Cards can give the Reasons. I shall be curious to know what the Good Hollanders will say, when they find by your Letter that a single sermon occasioned the Peace of Utrecht.

This anecdote is followed by a Stroke which gives me a great deal of uneasiness, because I foresee that it will render

your Lordship's whole Letter suspected. 'Tis that passage where after having justly declaimed against the Hugonots of the Cevennes, you cry out with such vivacity. *He! what need we cite examples so distant from us? have we not ourselves been witnesses, have we not seen all the disturbances they have made in the late wars? Their assemblies in divers provinces; the false news they have spread; Joy painted in their countenances at our disadvantages, and affliction at our success? Are those the Citizens they would recall to the State? These the Subjects they would give the King!*

My Lord, Where were your thoughts, or your piety when you wrote those words? What! You have been witness that the Hugonots made seditious motions during the last Wars; that they spread false news to disturb the Kingdom; that they have held Assemblies in favour of the Enemies of the King. And where, if you please, did you see all this? At Agen? Why are you silent? I say again Where is it that they have been found to be guilty of the like? Where is it that all enquiries have not been found favourable to their Fidelity? It certainly was not in Provence, nor in Dauphine, nor in Languedoc. I dare assure you that in these Provinces they have shewn themselves full of zeal for the King and for the Crown. You may be informed of it at Nimes, especially, at Montpellier, at Grenoble, at Valence, when they hung the Ministers Rane, Roger, Desubas, they did not fail to make exact enquiries to discover if the Hugonots of the Kingdom entertained any blameable intelligence with those abroad; and they could not find the least indication against them, at least none that we could learn; and to this day I never could hear, but from yourself my Lord, that they bore the least part in any of the disturbances you have imputed to them. The accusation is, however, very heavy from the mouth of such a man as you, of a man of Quality, of a Bishop, and you are to expect to be publickly called upon for proofs.

It is true, that for some years past the Hugonots have been permitted to assemble, and these meetings were somewhat numerous. It is true, that in divers places Officers have been sent about by the zeal of some Bishops, of whom it is said, my Lord, one is very well known to your Lordship, who have surrounded Assemblies, fired upon those present, drag'd several from among them into the neighbouring towns, and dispersed the rest. It is true, they have caused some to mount the Scaffold, that many men have been sent to the Gallies and many women imprisoned, and numbers of children torn
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from the bosom of their Parents to be sent to Convents. But this, this hath only been as a punishment for having celebrated their marriages, procure Baptism for their Infants, or partake of the Eucharist in their manner. These were their crimes. They are reproached on no other account in the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom, where they are most in condition to be turbulent. And if in your treasury of anecdotes, your Lordship has surer proofs that the Hugonots of Normandy for Example, of Poitou or of Guienne, or in particular of the Agenois, that they have gone beyond this, it is necessary for your own honour and for the glory of God that they may be made publick.

But joy was painted in the countenances of the Hugonots, at our disadvantages, and affliction at our Success. If that be any thing, perhaps they knew of the hope that you and others have had, that their Sect would be rooted out of the Kingdom on a Peace. Perhaps they were overcome with fear and in reality did tremble to see themselves on the point of being crusht. In such a case, my Lord, it requires no extraordinary share of Humanity to pardon them these sentiments provided they had other ways continued within the bounds of obedience. As for me, I will testify with good will for the Hugonots, Hugonots as they are, that they have shewn themselves good Subjects, at least so far, in those critical times. And I confess moreover, that I never think of the zeal which they discovered at the time of the sickness of our August Monarch, without wishing that there was had for those poor people, more forbearance and Charity than hath been had. You, my Lord, who are well versed in History, you know what passed in France, when in 1690, a report was spread that *William III.* was Dead in Ireland. What joy! what bone-fires! What Te Deums sung in the Kingdom! We saw nothing of the like when our good King was at the Gates of Death---No token of insulting joy appeared abroad; nothing like it either in England or Holland or at home. Ah! My Lord! what publick demonstrations of Sorrow and consternation, more strong, or less equivocal could be given on that sad occasion than that which the Hugonots gave. What could the Catholicks have done more than them? They were assembled in Synod in the Month of September 1744. The news of the King's Sickness arrived. Immediately they fell to prayer, their tears evidenced their affliction. They called upon God in terms the most animated and touching, that he would restore to the Kingdom a Prince who is a Father:

they appointed a day of solemn fast in all their Churches to bend Heaven to their vows, and all their assemblies resounded with hymns of joy when LEWIS THE WELL BELOVED was restored to health; every day the Glory of the King and the prosperity of the Kingdom are principle articles of their publick prayers.

Are these people seditious? Are those the Subjects which it becomes a Bishop to traduce in the presence of his King as pernicious Citizens? And what will you think of yourself my Lord, when in cool blood, being a little calmed, you look over your letter and read the following words. *We have ever presumed that his Majesty, when in Peace, would take most effectual measures to try to root out of his Kingdom, a sect so pernicious to his Glory: However, they are protected, the Hugonots, the factious are recalled; the Catholick Clergy, who are exhausted in supporting the King, and who are ever ready to begin again, are afflicted, are humbled, are sent home. What Contrast! Can I deny myself a reflection so natural, which my subject has laid me to. It penetrates our hearts with the most sensible grief, it strikes down our spirits with the weight of the deepest sorrow.*

We see it very well, My Lord, Yes, you are afflicted, vexed, angered to a degree of distraction; and inadvertantly, you have acquainted the publick with two things, which, in your place, I should have carefully concealed.

The first is, that you should have known better than any man, having been general Agent for the Clergy during some years, that the Clergy expected as soon as there was a Peace, that the King would disengage himself from his Enemies, and take effectual means to try to eradicate from his Kingdom, his Calvinist subjects. *Effectual measures to try to eradicate.* These are Sacramental expressions that gives us terror. You say moreover, *that the disputes of the Reformed Divines ever ended in blood.* Is it because, those effectual measures to try to eradicate an opposite Sect ought not to be in this Theological taste? Without doubt our King, Just, Magnanimous and Good as he is, would have answered My Lord's the Prelates, *You know not what spirit you are of.*

The other thing, which, if I may venture to say it, dropt inadvertantly from your Lordship, and which I will freely call the key of the Riddle, or if you would like it better, the secret of the heart is, *The Hugonots, the factious are recalled: The Catholick Clergy, who are exhausted in supporting the King, and who are ever ready to begin again, are af-*
flicted

flicted, are humbled, are sent home. What Contrast! You have believed, perhaps, that these words were understood by none but the Comptroller General. A Mistake, My Lord. All the World understands them. The Hugonots will furnish a commentary to them. They say that the upper Clergy who ever complain of being exhausted when they are called on to contribute to the charges of the Government with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, and who never are ready to begin again but by free gifts, of which they would regulate the Quantum at their pleasure, have been greatly afflicted, in as much as the King demanded of them the twentyeth penny; greatly humbled, in as much as the Reformed of Languedoc have given so generously an example of Zeal, opposite to which the refusal of the Bishops hath made a contrast no way Edifying; and that nothing has so much vexed them as to see themselves on account of their opposition sent home to their Dioceses: where, however, a Prelate, who has, like your Lordship Thirty five thousand livres in rent might easily recover himself from this extreme exhaustion. From hence arises, say they, the redoubling of this better zeal against them, and from hence your Letter, and, unfortunately, every one believes them.

It is yourself, My Lord, who disposes the minds of people to believe them, by your manner of reasoning at the conclusion of this unlucky letter. There is in it too much of sower and too little Logick. Let us see, for example, one of your arguments. You say that *if the Hugonots are few in number we gain nothing by receiving them: if they are great in number we expose ourselves by receiving them.* They retort and say, If they be great in number the Kingdom gains greatly by their being recalled. If they be few in number we run no hazard by their return. You go on and say, If the Hugonots were people of worth, they would not come into a Country where they are deprived of the most essential requisite of people of Worth, which is the exercise of their Religion; the instruction and assistance of their Pastors; where being encompassed every day with a People whom they look upon as Infidels, they would be continually exposed to temptations and the impending danger of losing their Faith. If they be People of no worth, they ought not to be recalled, because whatever few bad Subjects there be in a state, they are so much too many; and if the Multitude of Subjects be the strength of a Nation, the bad Quality of such subjects is the greatest evil. But they retort again the argument and say; If the Hugonots have no Conscience, they will comply with every thing provided they find

find their account in it: and if they have Conscience and Probity, they will remain quiet and serve God, in the best manner they can, without giving disturbance to the State.

On the one part or the other, if I am not mistaken, the arguments do not conclude very well; they are meer words: forgive me, My Lord, that I spake so freely, they are a jingle and nothing else.

But where you triumph beyond contradiction is in the Consequence which you draw from the picture which you give of the Hugonots, of which your own fancy has furnished the Idea and the Model. If these people, altho' led by their Pastors, *whose reasonings have no force, whose Discourse hath no Eloquence, whose Doctrine no probability,* yet have for them all kind of ills, *all the monks wearied of their Cloister, all the Nuns, mortified to see themselves recluse, and all the Libertines of the Kingdom;* if their sect, favourable to Licentiousness, is in condition to supply ambition and Avarice to the full. If this be true? O, My Lord, let us beware of these people, let us drive them out, let us shut up all our gates, for in truth I cannot engage but they may corrupt some of our Lords the Prelates.

But, above all, what a prospect doth your Lordship open to the eyes of considerate people, in pointing out to them the horrible examples which these Clavinists have given of scandalous concubinage; in not having received from us *the sacramental benediction of marriage, trifling with the most sacred contract among men, and multiplying an infamous and illegitimate progeny of Children, whose inheritances must, by our Laws, devolve to collaterals!* No! If all this be so, no consequence was ever more just than that which your Lordship would establish; and you are too good my Lord, when after having so well described all the effects of such abominable licentiousness you add, *I do not think that such a condition hath any thing wherewith to entice the Refugees.* This is carrying Charity too far. I confess that I should speak very plainly, that such a condition would not fail to entice them if it be true, that they are of a Religion which sanctifies vices, which permits Licentiousness, which leaves to every one to do as he thinks fit. Prisons, Gallies, Gibbets, Wheels, Fagots: these are what such people deserve.

It rests upon your Conscience, My Lord, to decide if in reality, it may be affirmed with truth, that our Hugonots are of this detestable Character. Hitherto I should not know them by this portrait. On the contrary I know, setting theological opinions aside, that some of them are scrupulously

ously virtuous and solidly pious. Perhaps you speak of some Hugonots, who are to be recalled from among the Hurons, the Toupinhamboos, the Cannibals, where their Fathers have sought refuge from nontolleration, and having become savages themselves, they have contracted the most monstrous Customs.

But would you confound our Calvinists among those abominable wretches. Ah! My Lord, let us have some humanity and uprightness. Let us think of the account we must render to God. Let us speak, judge, act, accordingly. The Hugonots of this Kingdom are, before our eyes, in very great errors; but after all they are our Brethren in Christ Jesus, tho' mistaken. Altho' Fellow Citizens, excluded by the Laws which we have made, from a thousand advantages to which their birth gave them equal right with us. We refuse them the free exercise of their Religion, even on the terms that those of their communion allow to the French Catholicks who reside in England and Holland. Because they will not permit their marriages to be blessed by our Priests which would imply an abjuration of their belief, we hold those marriages for infamous whoredoms, and the Children should be baptized in our Churches, and brought up in our Belief. No Ministers, on pain of Death; No publick Assemblies on pain of the Gallies for the Men, or perpetual imprisonment for the Women: No instruction; no consolation; no Sacraments for them, and if in the Article of Death they refuse ours, we refuse them, as to pagans, even the melancholy privilege of Burial.

In this frightful situation, in which they are tormented in a thousand ways by the inferiour Officers of Justice, sometimes by the Clergy, what can they do? Renounce their exterior Religion? The meier Idea of such a step causes horror! We cannot require it of them, without ourselves becoming sacrilegious and renouncing the fundamental maxims of the Gospel. To dissemble, to yield to the times, to live without Worship! Your Lordship acknowledges that you could not have a good opinion of people who for some *small temporal advantages* would live without the *most essential requisite of a man of Worth, which is the exercise of his Religion*. And it would not have been amiss, if you had added, that you detested such odious Hypocrites. To confront danger and to expose themselves courageously to Martyrdom? This would be their Duty; and the Gallies of the King, as well as the Prisons and jails of the Kingdom, witness for them that they
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are capable of it. But, my Lord, let us lay our hand to our Conscience; How Heroick is that Courage! What strength doth it require! What cruelty would it be to call to it, seven or eight hundred thousand Hugonots, which they count to be in the Kingdom. Sell their effects, quit their country, and refuge themselves else where? Alas! Dare they do it? Can they do it? And when arrived at the shore, what will be their Fate? Nothing remains for them but Despair, and for us but the shame to drive them to it. This, My Lord, is what I dread. This is what I pray God, from the bottom of my heart to prevent.

It seems to me, however, that two things ought to be done. We may give a means to our August King to put a finishing stroke to his Glory, in directing that the Hugonots be treated as the Roman Catholicks are in Protestant Countries, and suffer the Bishops to endeavour to instruct them, to convince them, to restore them if they can, by Christian persecution. Or if this be too great a labour, and the interest of the Clergy in general doth not permit that the Hugonots be tolerated; seeing that Justice and Christianity forbid that they should be persecuted, let us turn on the other hand. Humbly beseech the King that the Ports of the Kingdom be laid open to them; to permit them to carry abroad their Calvinism and furnish them with necessary means for such an Emigration, which may deliver us for ever from humours so peccant or at least so inconvenient.

Condescend, My Lord, to meditate a while on these two expedients. The last I conceive will be more suitable to your manner of thinking. They will justify our penal laws against people, who to avoid Rigour, make choice of other climates. Others will be obliged to yield, and will pay in *their attachment to little temporal Interests*, and encrease the resources which an exhausted Clergy hath so great need of in those unhappy times. Once more, then, condescend My Lord to cast your eyes on this expedient, and if you approve of it, Let your Zeal prompt you to propose it to the Comptroller General, with whom you hold correspondence on the affair of Religion.

I am, with the most profound Respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most humble

and most obedient servant.

HISTORICAL REGISTER of the
*principal Events, which have attended
 Reformation in Religion from the ear-
 liest Times.*

Anna

THE first corruptions of christianity began at Rome by the ambition and avarice of Silvester, bishop of that see, and the boundless and unguarded liberality of Constantine, first christian emperor; which gave occasion to Leo, a pious teacher, (who disliked these proceedings) of leaving Rome, and retiring into the vallies of Piemont, in which place of his retreat primitive christianity kept herself unspotted from the idolatry and other abominations, with which the face of Europe was gradually overspread by the artifices and tyranny of Rome. ^{324.}

The light of reformation was brought from those vallies into France, by the zealous preaching of Bruys, Henry, and Arnold; who, each of them, suffered martyrdom for the truth of the doctrine advanced by them. ^{1124.}

But, no servant of GOD contributed more to the spreading of the light of the gospel in those days of darkness, than Peter Waldo, a rich citizen of Lyons, the city of the greatest traffic in France, extremely populous, and not distant from the valies; who instructed from thence, and leaving off all other business, consecrated himself and his great possessions to the work of an evangelist; and having procured a translation of the gospel into the vulgar tongue, commenced a preacher of it himself; and that, with so much success, that being followed by multitudes, which no house could hold, he therefore preached to them in open streets: Which so provoked the bishop and his clergy, that they raised a bitter persecution against him and his followers, who from thence dispersed themselves into the neighbouring countries of Languedoc and Provence, and likewise into Picardy.

The reformed in France becoming numerous, and protected by persons so powerful as Rayment, count of Toulouse, the counts of Beziers, Carcasson, &c. Pope Innocent III. published a crusado against them, granting plenary remission of sins to all, who ^{1208.}

Anno

who would lift in this holy war against those anathematiz'd hereticks : In which they destroyed five hundred thousand souls, and stript the count of Toulouse of his dominions.

The consequence of this crusado against the reformed in the South of France, was, that numbers of them fled into the neighbouring country of Guyenne, then belonging to the crown of England, and from thence found an easy passage into our island : And here they gained many disciples, known by the name of Lollards; from an eminent teacher of that name.

1374.

In the following century, one John Wickliff lighted his candle by theirs, and had many followers: but the progress of his doctrine was stopt here, by the furious persecution raised against it by the clergy under the reigns of Henry IV, and Henry V. of whom they purchased the privilege of persecuting those who dissented from them, by large sums, which those princes wanted for carrying on their wars abroad. But, by the gracious disposition of providence, the good seed sown at Oxford by Wickliff, (where he read lectures of divinity) was carried into Bohemia by John Hufs and Jerom of Prague; and these two being called in question before the council of Constance, suffered martyrdom there for the testimony, which they bore to the truth : And by that blood, the good seed, which they had sown among the Bohemians, received such an increase, that it was publicly professed in that kingdom, till they fell under the dominion of the house of Austria. And the protestants still remaining in the neighbouring countries of Poland and Hungary, owe in a great measure to them the light of the gospel, which is not yet suppressed, though grievously oppressed by the power of Popery.

1513.

In France, maugre the many cruelties exercised against the Protestants, the city of Meaux, within thirty miles of Paris, was so leavened with their doctrine, that the worship of saints and images was set aside; and the learned Faber was employed by the bishop for introducing the reformation into his diocese.

1517.

About this time Luther, by disputing against indulgencies, gave a beginning to the reformation of religion in Germany; Zuinglius did the same in Switzerland; and Calvin, following their steps, became a powerful preacher of the gospel in France; whereby that whole kingdom became so enlightened, that there appeared a disposition in all ranks of people to embrace the reformation. To put a stop to it, Francis,
king

king of France, at the instigation of the clergy, condemned *Annals* several of the most zealous Protestants to be burnt, in all 1535 parts of his kingdom. But this only served to spread their persuasion among those, who observed with what constancy they suffered for the truth.

The books now published by Luther and other reformers abroad, being translated into English, came over hither, together with Tindal's translation of the bible, which put new life into the good seed, which had been sown among us by John Wickliff, and cut out new work for the rage of the clergy; so that a word spoken by any man against the constitutions of the church; or, if he taught his children the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, or the apostle's creed in the vulgar tongue, that was crime enough to bring them to the stake. But, as rage and cruelty are never used to support a good cause, they gave evidence to all reasonable men of the weakness and wickedness of Popery; which traced the way for our blessed reformation, begun in the latter years of Henry VIII, and brought to perfection under the saint-like king Edward VI. In the doing of which, archbishop Cranmer, the father of our reformation, made use of the assistance of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, whom he fetched from abroad and made divinity professors, the one at Oxford, and the other at Cambridge. He likewise consulted with Melancthon, the pious and learned professor of divinity at Wittenberg, about reformation of religion; and the archbishop invited him to come into England to succeed Bucer, who was lately dead at Cambridge. But the death of king Edward stopt him, who himself died in 1560.

Peter Martyr, who had fled from hence to avoid the Marian persecution, was in 1561, much pressed by our bishops to return into England, after queen Elizabeth came to the crown. But, he being grown old and infirm, the people of Zurich would not part with him. It is to be noted, that, both Calvin and Luther declared their approbation of episcopal government, as established in the church of England; but it was not in their power to form their church discipline in all points upon the same model. In the time of queen Elizabeth, Bullinger, chief pastor of the church of Zurich, being the man most remarkable for learning among the Protestants, was the oracle, our bishops consulted in all their difficulties: And in the year 1566, Grindal, bishop of London, wrote him word, that they entirely agreed with the Helvetian confession

Anno. fession of faith, which had been lately published by Bullinger, and the divines of Helvetia.

But while reformation in religion was making this happy progress in England, it met with a furious opposition in France, by an edict of Henry II. published this year; by which he declared it to be his will and pleasure, that his subjects should persevere in the doctrine of the church of Rome: and he banished all hereticks out of his dominions, and was himself present at the burning of several Lutherans in Paris.

In the midst of a violent persecution, God inspired the pastors of the reformed church in France, with courage and holy resolution to meet in a national synod, for composing their confession of faith, and establishing a form of ecclesiastical discipline, such as their situation under the government of a prince influenced by Rome would admit of. And the reformation gained such ground, that in another national synod held this year at Rochel, where Theodore Beza presided, they reckoned up two thousand one hundred and fifty churches, in some of which were above ten thousand communicants.

1570. The year 1572 produced the Massacre at Paris, in which a hundred thousand Protestants perished, by what Thuanus (a Popish writer) calls a most detestable piece of villainy, but highly applauded at Rome, where the pope had medals struck to perpetuate the memory of it. The Protestant Interest lay some years stunned by this blow, but God raised them deliverers in the persons of Henry IV. king of Navarre, and his cousin the prince of Conde, first princes of the Blood.

The king of Navarre being a Protestant, the Popish clergy formed a league, supported by the pope, and by the king of Spain, for excluding him from the crown of France, (to which he was lawful heir, on the failure of Henry III. without issue male) his claim being supported by the Protestants, it produced a civil war, which Henry IV. found no other means to put an end to, than by abandoning his religion.

1595. But, to reward his Protestant subjects for their fidelity, he granted them the free profession of their religion, by the famous edict of Nants, declared to be perpetual. But, that

1610. magnanimous prince being murdered by a Popish bigot, many were the breaches made in that edict by his successors Lewis XIII, and Lewis XIV, previous to the decisive Blow, levelled at the reformed religion by Lewis XIV, in the revocation of the edict of Nants, which had been granted in perpetuity

perpetuity by his grandfather Henry IV. and was re-enacted and confirmed by his father Lewis XIII. and himself, on their respective accessions to the throne: But, this appeared a convenient season to the Jesuits, who governed that Prince's conscience and counsels, for executing their pernicious designs.

England, the bulwark of the reformation, was then governed by James II, a prince of their own persuasion, 1685. over whom the jesuits had no less influence, than over Lewis XIV; and therefore, he was disposed to concur in all their measures, in hopes of arriving at the same degree of despotic power over the consciences and liberties of his people, which Lewis exercised over his. The persecution, they now raised in France, was carried on with the utmost violence; all their churches were demolished, and their ministers banished; and every Protestant family in that kingdom had soldiers quartered upon them, who lived at discretion, and never left them, till they had abjured their religion, or were utterly ruined: And those, who still persisted, either expired under the hands of their tormentors; or were sent to the gallies, and strict guard was kept on all avenues, to prevent any Protestant escaping from the rage of their persecutors. Those, who found their way out (which, notwithstanding the Vigilance of their enemies, amounted to several thousands) were received with the utmost tenderness and compassion in England; And though king James was still on the throne, a public collection was made for the immediate support of these poor sufferers, who had abandoned all for conscience-sake.

Thus the reformed church of France, which in its flourishing state could boast of two millions of souls within its pale, was, by these violences, in a few months so dissipated, 1715. as to give her enemies occasion to boast, the name of the Protestants should be never more heard of in France. But they deceived themselves; and before the death of their persecutor Lewis XIV, they again appeared, near as numerous as ever; but were constrained to hold their religious assemblies in Caves and Woods, where they were farthest removed from Observation.

The government of the duke of Orleans, during the Minority of Lewis XV, was more favourable to them; But the king being declared major, before he was fourteen; and the administration falling into the hands of a cardinal devoted to the jesuits, by their influence an edict issued by 1724. which were revived the several penalties of Lewis XIV's edict

Ann. edict against them. But a War breaking out, in which France found herself engaged, the persecution abated, and the court condescended to flatter the Protestants with hopes of indulgence, with which they were encouraged to hold numerous assemblies publickly; And in them they administered the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and celebrated their marriages. But, the invasion of the Austrians into Provence having miscarried, the court changed their language, and, to please their clergy, delivered up to their rage their Protestant subjects (to whose charge nothing could be laid, but the obeying of God rather than man) which in France is deemed a crime, whenever the king thinks fit, by an edict, to require of all his subjects to be of his religion. And this is now enforced with such violence and severity, that holding these assemblies is by an edict published in 1745, immediate death to the minister who officiates, and perpetual imprisonment for the women, and galleys for the men, who have been present at them. And it is required of all, who are suspected to be Protestants, to subscribe a paper, which imports an abjuration of their religion; the refusing of which exposes them to all manner of outrages. And this being their deplorable case, it is recommended to all serious christians to consider, what their Behaviour should be to these afflicted brethren (*a Cup of cold Water given to a Disciple of Christ shall not lose its Reward.*) And we can never have a more proper opportunity of expressing our grateful acknowledgment for God's undeserved mercy in continuing to us the light of the Gospel (which our manners little deserve) than by shewing our compassionate regard for these our afflicted brethren by all proper acts of charity. And let no man discourage you in this Labour of Love, by calling these persecuted Protestants by the Name of Calvinists or Lutherans, lest you incur the censure of St. Paul to his Corinthians, (who to foment divisions, called themselves by the Name, some of Paul, some of Apollos) which he notes, as a mark of their carnal-mindedness; and tells them, that Paul and Apollos were only ministers, by whom they believed; that Paul planted, and Apollos watered, but God gave the increase. And the same may be said of those two eminent reformers, Luther and Calvin, from whom their followers took their name, and from whom Cranmer borrowed the materials of that reformation, which, by God's Mercy, we so happily enjoy.

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